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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume VII

Edited by

**THE FACULTY OF THE TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
BOMBAY, INDIA**

1946

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume VII

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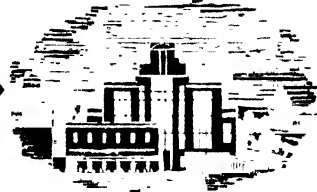
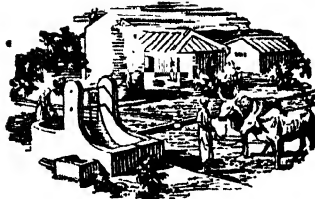
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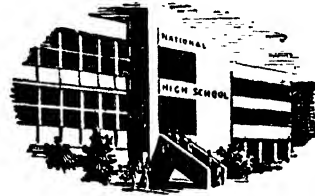
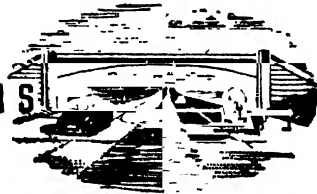
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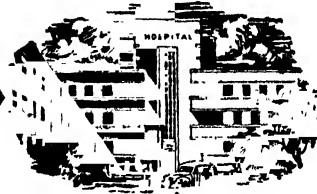
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PSYCHOLOGY IN INDUSTRY

ANINA BRANDT

At a time like this when there is so much conflict between capital and labour, special efforts should be put forth to establish the personal factor which is sadly ignored in modern industry. The author, therefore, makes a plea for the application of psychological principles to human problems for the promotion not only of efficiency but even more of better understanding and goodwill between these two groups.

Dr. Anina Brandt was for some time in charge of the Vocational Guidance and Staff Selection Department of the Orga-Institute of Psycho-Technic in Berlin. She is at present in India to promote the cause of Industrial Psychology and Vocational Guidance.

Anybody who saw Charlie Chaplin in his film "Modern Times" turned into an automaton and robot switched on to highest speed and ever more SPEED, must think it absurd to connect psychology in any way with modern industry. Psychology is the science of the *psyche* or soul; but the "efficiency experts," Taylor with his dreaded "Scientific management" and Gilbreth with his "One Best Way," with their movement—and motion-studies, with their *standardizing* of human energy, nay, of the very individual, seem to have succeeded in eradicating the last trace of the human element, the soul, from industry. But this unknown quantity, the very soul, upset their carefully prepared schemes and revenged itself for the neglect. The *standard* speed and *standard* output calculated on first-rate labourers working at top speed, while being timed, cannot be reached by the average labourer. Or even if he reaches it, it puts so much strain on him that he is unable to keep it up for any prolonged period. The feeling of irritability and frustration caused by this apparent "inefficiency" turns into fear of being dismissed and anxiety for the future. This tense and unhealthy atmosphere ultimately obliterates the results of scientific management and not even premium payments and high wages make up for it in the long run.

The Aim of Industrial Psychology.—The Industrial Psychologist approaches the problem of efficiency from a different angle altogether. Efficiency is not his first and

only aim, but he obtains it, so to speak, as a by-product of his investigations. His object is the *human element* in industry, his endeavour the reconciliation between man and machine, his problem to prevent the individual from becoming a lifeless number in the mass. He is neither a missionary nor a welfare worker. He is a scientist applying scientific methods as accurately as possible in his study of the most elusive of all scientific subjects, the human soul. He, like the efficiency-engineer, uses minute movement and motion-studies.

But his aim is not SPEED for speed's sake. His aim is : EASE of movement, EASE of atmosphere and EASE of human relationship within the factory. Amazingly enough, however, he obtains speed, naturally and without undue strain or tension. There is nothing forced or inhuman in his way of developing the best working methods. They are adapted to the requirements of the human organism, even to the individual human body, and they result in EASY EFFICIENCY as the movement studies result in EASY SPEED. This ease creates an atmosphere of "Give and take" on both sides, the employers' and the employees', instead of the old "Take what you can get." Or, in the words of Sir Charles S. Myers, the pioneer of Industrial Psychology in Great Britain: "If only the *mental atmosphere* in a factory be right, the workers will set their own standard of output, and, as the majority of mankind, when placed under

just conditions, is honest and honourable, that standard will prove in the long run to be 'the most satisfactory'—and, with regard to movement-studies: "It is essential to lay initial stress on *ease* of movement; when once that has been attained, speed may be expected to look after itself".

Industrial Psychology has discovered innumerable ways of eliminating all avoidable waste of human energy, be it mental or physical. It is fundamentally research work bent on finding all the causes for such waste and working out means to remove them as far as is humanly possible. These causes might range from giving a man work for which he is mentally or physically unfit to a working table, being an inch too high or too low, from unnecessary fatigue due to wrongly placed or measured intervals of rest to the handle of a tool that does not fit the worker's hand. Thus Industrial Psychology is intimately concerned with all the great problems facing modern Industry, such as: labour-turnover, occupational misfits, accidents and—most dreaded in India—absenteeism. The Industrial Psychologist approaches these problems from a new angle by not putting the blame on "the unreliable lot that the workers are," but by diving into the human and individual causes of their proving misfits, or being irregular in their attendance, or unreliable and unsteady in their work, or of their causing avoidable accidents. Once the causes have been discovered, it is usually not too difficult to remove them, thereby turning the scientific research into an applied science and ultimately into a social service benefitting the mass of the labourers, the employers and, last, not least, the public.

Industrialized countries the world over have recognized Industrial Psychology as an essential factor in their progress. Institutes of Industrial Psychology became

centres of research, training and application of this new science. Initially financed by various firms' and private individuals' subscriptions, by donations and advisory and consultation fees, they were subsequently subsidized and partly or fully taken over by governments or municipalities. 'Theoretical and practical' training courses have been established in the psychological laboratories of some universities and other educational institutions.

The National Institute of Industrial Psychology in Great Britain was established in 1921 on an entirely voluntary basis and worked in close collaboration with the Industrial Fatigue Research Board founded in 1918.

The Personnel Research Federation in New York, the Australian Institute of Industrial Psychology in Sydney and similar bodies set up in all the large cities of European countries have been working for the last thirty years. They have succeeded in developing scientifically and practically approved working methods. A vast literature in all languages allows the student to compare procedures adopted in different countries, which is of supreme importance in Industrial Psychology. As there are no two human beings exactly alike, even if they be twins, there are no two factories or business concerns exactly alike.

Hence Industrial Psychology has to be a continual research, and the psychologist will always have to be on the look-out for slight adaptations required to suit generally approved methods to the individual establishment. This, of course, is even more true and becomes a matter of utmost importance if it is a question of applying these methods to countries of an entirely different character with regard to climatic conditions, standard of living, general physique of the labourer, customs and habits, family life, education and mental

Outlook of the population. In the case, e.g. of applying western methods of Industrial Psychology to India, it cannot be over-emphasized that it must be done only by fully trained and experienced psychologists who know how to use the maximum of discrimination in choosing, amongst the vast amount of available matter, what is suitable for India. Mere book-knowledge is not only useless but may be harmful, because very likely even the methods most suitable apparently will have to be considerably modified, statistics and scores will have to be re-established, the research will be confronted with entirely new psychological situations arising from a new environment—"new" in the sense that it has not been psychologically explored and analysed, though the Industrial Psychologist-to-be may have lived in it all his life.

This psychological exploration has been carried out only during the last two or three decades in countries with nearly a hundred years of industrialization. The process will be greatly shortened in India if these western methods are used as a stepping-stone. But they will have to be *absorbed, completely assimilated and interpenetrated with Indian mentality before they become beneficial to the country*. It is not enough to translate verbal tests into Urdu or Hindi or Gujarati or Marathi, but the conceptions may have to be altered according to features typical of India or even different regions of India. Fatigue-studies in India will have to be carried out on lines entirely different from those in western countries, because the rhythm of life and movement and the temperaments are altogether different. In order to test musical ability, it would be quite useless to apply tests prepared for western music. The Indian ear being used to recognize so much smaller intervals of sound and being adapted

to an extreme precision of rhythm, the standards are much higher for the norm and the scores would be very different from those obtained from individuals used to western music which is based on harmony instead of melody.

The following description of the working methods used in Industrial Psychology will show even more clearly that it cannot be imported and applied indiscriminately.

The Methods of Industrial Psychology.—Staff Selection and Vocational Guidance : One of the main principles of Industrial Psychology is to put the right man into the right place, in other words, to give every individual the place in which he can develop and use his inborn capacities and aptitudes to the highest extent for his own moral and material benefit, as well as for the efficiency of the establishment or factory. Vocational Guidance finds the right job for the individual. Staff-selection chooses the right individual for an existing vacancy. The ultimate and IDEAL result ought to be the same if the ideal way is chosen, which is close collaboration between Vocational Guidance and Staff-selection. In all countries in which Vocational Guidance has become an important feature of national life, this collaboration is given a large scope. The Labour Departments, Juvenile Employment Committees and Education Authorities are equally eager in solving this problem, parents and youngsters are given every possible help and guidance, while work-managers and employment officers of industrial or commercial establishments are supplied with personnel which is much more likely to be efficient than that which they used to get without scientific methods of selection.

The value of the Vocational Section is strikingly demonstrated in two examples given in a lecture by Dr. A. H. Martin, Director of the Australian Institute of

Industrial Psychology : "In an English chocolate factory in the times before psychological tests were utilised for the selection of employees only sixty per cent of the total engaged proved satisfactory for their work. The remaining 40 per cent had to be re-adjusted by removing them to other branches of factory work. After psychological tests were used for selection, this 40 per cent was reduced to a bare 4 per cent of unsuitable types who had to be finally re-adjusted.

"In the case of the Paris Transport Company which went into the problem in a large way, similar results were found. The cost of the work of developing, standardising and applying the selection tests for drivers amounted to £ 10,000, the estimated amount saved by the exclusion of unsatisfactory employees was £ 72,000. In addition, the safety of passengers carried by the company's services was assured to a far greater degree."

In order to acquire accurate knowledge about the mental and physical aptitudes and capacities of the individual, most elaborate psychological tests, systematically conducted interviews and observation during the testing by a trained psychologist are utilised. A minute analysis of occupational requirements is essential, of course, in order to compare the aptitudes and qualities of the prospective workers with the demands of the work. This study of occupational requirements has been done on a large scale and information has been collected from personal visits to factories, ware-houses, workshops and offices. Close observation of the working-process and discussions with the manager or foreman, inquiries of juvenile employment officers and the study of printed pamphlets on occupations yielded a vast number of special abilities which had to be analysed and translated into psychological factors. These

factors were then classified and arranged in order to detect groups of occupations or processes which are so much alike that a person who possesses the ability to succeed in one member of the group may reasonably be expected to succeed in any member of the same group. The danger of staff-selection by scientific methods as it is being practised by many industrial and commercial firms is that of becoming too mechanical. Instead of seeing the individual in whose general make-up the particular ability is only a small item, the tester is inclined to search for an abstract "mechanical aptitude." Even Psychologists searching for "intelligence," for example, are apt to forget that "intelligence" cannot be extracted and produced in a "pure state."

The tests used in both Vocational Guidance and Staff-selection are innumerable. Anybody interested in educational problems knows and uses the Binet-Simon intelligence tests and their revisions (Stanford, Terman and Burt). Everybody knows how to measure mental development in terms of mental age and how to calculate the Intelligence-Quotient, so much so that it has become a favourite pastime amongst some educationists to invent new intelligence-tests as one might invent cross-word puzzles. As recently as 1936, R. C. Cattell writes : "At the present time psychology is greatly beset by growing pains, and one is not surprised to find that the rather numerous specialists, concerned with psychological testing—who all too frequently lack research training or fundamental qualifications—are often wildy at sea in their conceptions of what they are testing." All the early tests were mainly Intelligence-tests, though, according to C. L. Hull, "Each of a number of prominent psychologists was asked by a psychological journal to write out a statement of what he

considered general intelligence to be. All were sure that it is something very important, but no two agreed as to exactly what." Or to quote P. B. Ballard in "Mental Tests": "While the teacher tried to cultivate intelligence, and the psychologist tried to measure intelligence, nobody seemed to know precisely what intelligence was."

But for the practical purposes of cultivating as well as of measuring intelligence, Terman is probably right in saying that "To demand that one who would measure intelligence should first present a complete definition of it is quite unreasonable."

C. Spearman's two factor theory gave a fresh impetus to the research on the nature of intelligence and opened up new ways of testing it. He discovered through experimental observations and mathematical reasoning that "all branches of intellectual activity have in common one fundamental function or group of functions, whereas the remaining or specific elements seem in every case to be wholly different from that in all the others". The general factor (g) is to be identified with intelligence, the others are specific factors responsible for specific abilities. R. Knight, in his book on *Intelligence and Intelligence-Tests*, defines Intelligence as "the ability, when we have some aim or question in mind, (a) to discover the relevant qualities and relations of the objects or ideas that are before us, and (b) to evoke other relevant ideas. In other words, it is the capacity for relational, constructive thinking, directed to the attainment of some end. The man of high intelligence is one who, faced with a problem, can size up the significant aspects of the objects or ideas before him and can bring to mind other ideas that are relevant."

E. L. Thorndike, for practical purposes, assumes three kinds of intelligence :

mechanical, social and abstract. A perfect description and measurement of intelligence would involve testing the man's ability to think on all possible lines..... For ordinary practical purposes, however, it suffices to examine three "intelligences" which we may call mechanical intelligence, social intelligence and abstract intelligence. By mechanical intelligence is meant the ability to learn to understand and manage things and mechanisms such as a knife, gun, moving machine, automobile, boat, lathe, piece of land, river or storm. By social intelligence is meant the ability to understand and manage men and women, boys and girls, to act wisely in human relations. By abstract intelligence is meant the ability to understand and manage ideas and symbols such as words, numbers, chemical or physical formulae, legal decisions, scientific principles and the like.....Between one and another of these three is relatively great disparity. The best mechanic in a factory may fail as a foreman from lack of social intelligence. The whole world may revere the abstract intelligence of a philosopher whose mechanical intelligence it would not employ at \$3.00 per day. (Thorndike, "Intelligence and its Uses," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 140—1920).

All modern tests are based on this complex conception of general intelligence, as opposed to various special abilities and group factors. They are individual or group tests, verbal or non-verbal, paper or performance tests. Verbal tests demanding relational constructive thinking are : synonyms and antonyms, analogies, classification, sentence completion, mixed sentences, codes, number series, etc. There would be from twenty to fifty in each of the different sections, and, of course, according to special needs, sections can be left out or others added, as the case may

be. Performance tests demanding the intelligent manipulation of pictures, diagrams and other concrete material show aptitude in space or form relations. Where verbal or paper tests cannot be applied, performance tests are extremely useful, e.g. for testing illiterate workers : this problem, of particular importance to India, cannot be exhausted here but should be dealt with in a subsequent article. Innumerable tests of this kind have been developed : picture completing tests, ranging of small cubes in different colours in more or less complicated series, all kinds of cube construction tests, ranging objects of different shapes, judging shapes of objects shown, repeating the order of different colours exposed, etc. Specially the form-board tests are available in all grades of difficulty suitable for small children, illiterates, adolescents and adults. They consist of boards out of which pieces have been cut. These pieces are mixed up and have to be replaced in their right places. For small children, these pieces are very simple in shape—circles, half circles, squares, oblongs, etc. (Seguin, Dearborn, Anderson a.o.). For adolescents and adults, the problem consists in replacing very complicated pieces which are moreover divided into two sections of a gradual series of six boards (Ferguson Form Boards).

Another performance test, well graded in difficulty, is the Porteus maze test. A maze is printed on a sheet of paper, the starting point is marked, and the way out has to be found as quickly as possible without crossing any of the lines. All these performance tests give the trained observer a great deal of information about the working habits and general characteristics of the individuals being tested : one will work systematically, another will plunge into it with great zest and give up at the first obstacle, another will show irresolu-

tion, not knowing how to set to work, another will plod on steadily and slowly and with the utmost accuracy. Thus all performance tests are of extreme value in the investigation of the temperamental make-up of the testee.

This is true, even to a higher degree, with regard to achievement tests measuring special aptitudes, dexterity or motor ability, foot and hand co-ordination, right and left hand co-ordination, touch without visual aid, mechanical aptitude, constructional ability or perception of form relationships, muscular strength, endurance and consistency, etc. All these tests have been constructed as closely as possible to real industrial requirements.

Examples of tests for special dexterities : sets of nuts and small screw bolts are all unfastened and mixed together, placed in a heap on the table. The nuts have to be screwed on the bolts as tightly and as quickly as possible. A set of wooden pegs have to be put in rows of holes on a wooden board. All kinds of variations and different degrees of difficulty are possible. The pegs have to be put in with the right hand only, the left hand only, both hands may be used, the thumb and each finger in turn may be allowed to seize the pegs. The best known tests of general mechanical ability are the Stenquist Assembling Tests. They are boxes containing a screw driver and ten simple mechanisms such as a bicycle bell, a paper clip, a simple lock, with their parts unassembled. As many as possible of the given items have to be assembled in a given time. Various degrees of difficulty exist in this test as well as in Cox's Mechanical Models, Mechanical Explanations, Mechanical Completion and Mechanical Diagrams.

Constructional ability or perception of form relationships is tested by cube construction tests. A three-inch cube, painted

on the outside, is cut into 27 one inch cubes and it has to be assembled so that the painted surfaces will all be on the outside. Watching the testee with regard to his methods of working, e.g., knowing the significance of corner cubes or uncoloured cubes, arranging the cubes in certain ways before starting, etc. is of equal importance as the timing in this as in all mechanical achievement tests.

A great number of simple tests have been prepared and standardized for testing the motor efficiency for the purpose of staff-selection on a large scale : tapping, tracing, aiming (co-ordination between hand and eye), reaction time : the time-lapse between a light signal or a sound signal, and the pressing of a key or a button is automatically recorded.

This is only an infinitely small section of what has been achieved in the last three or four decades in the research on intelligence and aptitude testing and its applications. But it gives an idea of what can be done to help the individual to find his proper place in the world and the employer to select the most suitable people to fill his vacancies. It is obvious that numerous causes for dissatisfaction, disappointment and friction can be eliminated by Staff-selection and Vocational Guidance based on psychological methods.

Studies of Industrial Fatigue.—The study of industrial fatigue is another important sphere for the industrial psychologist. Industrial fatigue, like intelligence, is of a very complex nature indeed and is not easily defined in words. Even as far as it seems to be a purely physical (muscular) fatigue, closer investigations reveal that there are so many psychological influences at work, inextricably mixed up with it, that it is impossible to obtain pure physical fatigue except perhaps with the ergograph in a laboratory experiment. But that is

usually too far removed from the reality of working conditions to be of much practical use. Nevertheless it has shown the importance of properly timed rest-pauses and the bringing into play of different muscles by slight changes of posture, thus relieving muscles fatigued by previous exertion. The most accurate way of diagnosing fatigue is the work curve obtained in such laboratory experiments. It is a graph showing the worker's variations in efficiency at different periods, e.g., at the beginning of work, before and after the midday pause, towards the end of the day, at the beginning and the end of the working week.

Such investigations have been made all over the world in industrialized countries, e.g., by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in England and by similar bodies on the Continent as well as in America and Australia. The analysis of the work curve established for hours, days, weeks or over much longer periods shows distinct phases, described by Ch. S. Myers as : (1) "incitement", the "getting going" or "warmed up" to the work after an interruption of work. The longer the interruption, the longer this process takes, (2) settlement, the recovery of lost rhythm and the neglect of distracting conditions, (3) "spurts" of which the most striking are the initial spurt when the subject starts fresh to his work, and the end spurt when he realizes that the end of his work is approaching. There also occur (4) temporary "depressions" in efficiency due to various causes other than fatigue.

It is obvious from this analysis that we have to consider muscular, nervous and mental factors in dealing with the problem of fatigue as it affects the output of work. Consequently all have to be assessed when tackling this question. It is a fact established many years ago that a reduction of the

daily working hours reduces the amount of spoiled work, lowers the total number of accidents as well as the rate of accidents, increases the output after a short period of adaptation.

But it is also a fact that rest-pauses arranged at certain intervals during working hours are beneficial to the worker as well as to the work. They cannot be replaced by accidental or forced interruptions of the flow of work by lack of co-ordination of various departments, or by break-downs of the machinery, nor have rest-pauses taken on the sly by mere idling the same results. Rest-pauses organized, introduced and sanctioned by the management should not be too long or too short and should be placed at the most favourable intervals in the working day. These items can be determined only by an expert analysis of the particular work and, in certain cases, the individual worker, based on the work curve which, of course, must be kept clear of all accidental causes influencing the output which have nothing to do with the worker himself. The benefit of rest-pauses is most obvious in monotonous work to relieve the fatigue revealed in boredom, while fatigue caused by highly concentrated work often expresses itself in irritability which may be soothed by periodical changes into short spells of repetitive work.

A great deal of muscular fatigue can be avoided by eliminating unnecessary movements due to bad arrangements of material, tools, and transport difficulties. A few inches difference in the height of a shelf from which things have to be lifted may make all the difference to the worker who otherwise would have to stoop down to pick and lift them up. Simple physical adjustments of seats, tables, tools, handles, wheeled transport instead of dragging or carrying, all devices to save unnecessary

effort, by Gilbreth, Ford, etc., ought to be so well known that we need not go into details.

It is, however, essential to bear in mind that, for India, the idea of individual comfort is somewhat different from western ideas. For the Indian worker, sitting in a chair, however comfortable, is not necessarily as attractive as it is for a western worker. The average Indian worker is probably much more at ease, and would take his rest, squatting on the floor, which, by the way, is much more beneficial to human health than sitting on a chair, the blood circulation being less hampered than with legs hanging down; the back being better supported, keeps straight more easily, while the inner organs are in a more natural position. Therefore no warning severe enough can be given against the indiscriminate application of these rules for *individual* comfort based on western notions. Any thoughtless imitation by ignorant and inexperienced amateurs, may do more harm than good.

The same is true with regard to ventilation, lighting, colouring of the factory rooms and machines, etc. All these factors are of importance for the reduction of fatigue and the general well-being of the worker, which has not yet been fully realized. Nothing is more inducive to slackness and lassitude than a moist and stagnant atmosphere, and experiments show that correct and scientifically arranged air movement, elimination of fumes, dust and smells help in delaying the onset of fatigue. A small change in the arrangement or the size of a window, an additional roof ventilator or exhaust fan, may yield increases in output considerably exceeding the comparatively small expense. Good lighting conditions, keeping out gloom—or, in India, glare—have a surprising effect on the rate of accidents and of spoilt work,

Increasing the output accordingly. It does not cost much more to have the factory walls and machinery painted in soothing and friendly colours than to leave them dull and drab, or to have a pleasant approach to the building, good sanitation and reduction of the noise to a minimum. But it makes all the difference in the general well-being of the workers who spend their days with them.

Moreover, the painting of certain parts of the machinery in prominent colours—thin threads or blades seen against a dark or bright back-ground, boxes containing tools painted in different colours—and innumerable little things can be done to ease the working conditions and create an atmosphere of ease. The introduction of music in work-rooms where work of an extremely monotonous character has to be done has proved most inductive to good humour and efficiency, e.g., in packing biscuits, chocolates, cigarettes, bulbs, glasses, anywhere where boredom threatens to reduce the vitality of the workers. Experienced workers will be able to contribute their own suggestions, which should be heard and examined, and the open-minded works-manager who once starts thinking seriously about these problems will find innumerable small ways of increasing comfort and efficiency, at the same time creating a healthy, not to say happy, atmosphere in the factory.

Absenteeism and Industrial Psychology.—This happy atmosphere in itself will counteract the causes of absenteeism to a great extent : Industrial Psychology in all its different aspects, proving to the worker that he is being cared for and not just used and discarded like a tool, has helped a great deal to counteract absenteeism in its various manifestations. The worker who finds himself in the right place doing the work for which he is best suited and

obtaining the maximum of efficiency under decent working conditions is not likely to stay away for longer or shorter periods for trivial reasons. Money alone and in itself has not enough attraction, especially in a country like India, where wants are so few and where a handful of coins goes a long way.

Thorough investigations based on statistics comparing men and women in different groups of age, classification and study of the reasons for absence or attendance in the different groups—sickness, accidents, shopping, household duties for women, no special reasons except being “fed up,” etc.—have been carried out in America, Britain, Australia and New Zealand. They reveal as the “most significant psychological causes the lack of real interest in the job and a lack of conviction of its importance and urgency. This is often due to ignorance.....whereas experience shows that the workers in general respond in increasing degrees to the incentive of interest when they are made aware of the part their particular job plays in the final product.” Films taken in the works themselves and showing not only the process from the initial stages to the final product leaving the works, but also the individual workers at different stages, have been used with great success in the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore State.

Well-trained and capable supervisors can do a great deal to improve the relations between the management and the employee. “The workers’ human and personal problems should be dealt with by somebody possessing a definite psychological and understanding approach to human problems.” The United States Department of Labour states that “the most effective contribution to the reduction of absenteeism can be made by co-operative effort

of management and workers " and that "in a number of plants the labour management committees have accepted the responsibility of interviewing absentees at meetings and have sponsored programmes to control it." ("People at Work," published by the Australian Institute of Industrial Psychology). Canteens providing wholesome food at low costs and company houses open to the workers only, factory clubs, sports and games have proved to be a great success; the staging of amateur dramatic performances and competitions in special features of the working process, e.g., drilling, as was done in the Kolar Gold Fields, create a sort of communal feeling amongst the workers themselves and towards the management and even induce new workers to join.

Regular promotion of efficient workers, bonus systems based on the particular mental make-up of the workers, pensions and subsidised insurances, properly organized welfare work, shares awarded to workers after a given length of service will induce loyalty to their work.

A little commonsense and a great amount of goodwill is necessary on both sides to remove the suspicion poisoning the relationship between industrial workers and employers which has been allowed to grow up along with the growth of large organizations. The ultimate task of the Industrial Psychologist is to re-establish the personal factor which has been abolished in this process and to point the way to human understanding and confidence on both sides.

TRAINING OF WOMEN FOR RURAL WORK

DR. B. H. MEHTA.

Maintaining that the urgent task of the woman leader is to approach the family as a unit of society and to build its unity, strength and happiness, the author analyses the woman's movement and gives practical suggestions for training women for rural work.

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The last century saw the woman come into her own in Europe. Awakening amongst Asiatic women was not slow to follow, and they too began to demand their emancipation. To some extent she had succeeded in releasing herself from the degradation and subjection to which she had got accustomed during the feudal times. The awakening in Europe followed the political reactions of the French Revolution, but more important were the repercussions of the Industrial Revolution when the woman was called upon to man the industries in the nineteenth century. The Suffragette Movement was led by women, and the woman won her vote in spite of the unwillingness of man. The Woman's Movement in India follows the awakening of political consciousness amongst all classes of Indians. In the past the Indian woman was content to do the traditional duties allotted to her centuries ago. She was brought up under a social system where her Dharma allotted to her functions she was ever willing to perform. Her disability, like absence of fundamental rights to own property or her unfitness to marry if she was a widow, was resented by her, but no Movement led by herself followed to enable her to secure her rightful place in society. Nevertheless, education and leadership of social reformers brought her into her own. Fortunately, in India the male leadership championed her cause and assisted her to assert herself in those walks of life where she had no place so far. Only the tradition-bound orthodox opposed her slow but certain emancipation. Today she has nearly

won her battles, and she is winning her final rights by standing shoulder to shoulder with the nation in the struggle for Freedom.

Today the woman in India is not only struggling for her own emancipation but is sharing the struggles of the nation and playing the role of a leader, a sincere, determined and capable leader, in some of the most important roles of national life. Whilst the awakening created by education was generally confined to the cities, women in the villages came into their own due to the awakening of political consciousness.

The credit of this awakening belongs to Mahatma Gandhi under whom she was led to give up fear and subjection in home life, and bear her share in the various political struggles that he led from time to time. Mahatma Gandhi's fundamental belief in the equality of the sexes was shared no less by his devoted wife and companion. Though conscious of her freedom, Kastur-bai Gandhi was always devoted to her husband, and to the world she appeared as a symbol of one who stood for the old conception of Dharma. As a matter of fact she was wonderfully successful in blending the ideas of Stri Dharma with her new role of a totally freed and emancipated woman. Her humbleness in life was a voluntary acceptance of the greatness and dominating personality of her husband. Thus, whilst she was not keen upon asserting her leadership, she was politically conscious, and kept herself abreast of the trends of world history. As an acknowledgement of

the great part she played in the life of India's greatest leader known for several centuries, a Movement has taken shape in her memory, which is destined to play a role, the immense value of which can hardly be realised in the present times. It is almost certain that before this gigantic Movement some of the most important feminist movements in the West will pale into insignificance. In India itself this will prove the most constructive and dominant Movement of this century, second only to the Freedom Movement which is so very near its goal.

Its importance comes from several fundamental reasons. Firstly, it is a rural Movement which will permeate and strengthen the feminist Movement in every nook and corner of the country. Secondly, the Movement will touch the fundamental chords of Indian Society and work for bringing health, happiness and education to the women and children, the mothers and parents of India today and tomorrow. Finally, the Movement will create a new army of women leaders, unlike the present movements in the city whose leadership is confined to a small number.

India has every reason to welcome the birth of this new and vital leadership. When men write about women, they are supposed either to flatter them or to belittle their importance. If truth and frankness are combined, it can be asserted that women are capable of sincerity and perseverance of effort with a natural inclination for self-effacement—ideal qualities of leadership for achieving great things in a short time. Women have a quick grasp of fundamentals and once the objectives are clear to them, their determined, devoted and simple actions lead to the goal in a comparatively short time.

The Kasturba Movement commands the woman to come forward to play the

most momentous role in nation building with special reference to its human values. It is certain that the awakening amongst women in India is so definite that they will give a unique response to the greatest call that has ever been given to them in the course of history. It is not enough that the Indian Woman responds to the call; it is imperative that she should receive such secondary co-operation as she may require for preparing for this great task and for fulfilling her mission. The beginning of this Movement must synchronise with a final and total acceptance of the equality of woman by every section of the Indian people. Secondly, the Movement must receive the sincere sympathy and active co-operation of men, especially in the villages. And finally, the Government must recognise in this Movement a weapon which no government by itself can create or wield.

A National Movement of such importance which contemplates providing leadership to the most important half of the Indian population should have clear aims and objectives. It is but natural that the desire for their emancipation and an urge for freedom will permeate and dominate all their programmes and actions. But it will be unfortunate if political objectives, however important, overshadow other urgent demands. A movement to provide leadership for women has a very comprehensive and yet complex destiny to fulfill. The larger objectives of the Woman's Movement are fundamental, and they deal with the individual, with the family and the community as a whole. Women prepared for leadership will be called upon to work for the care, growth, training and happiness of children in rural areas. Besides, they will organize the younger female generation, and work for the education and happiness

of women in general and mothers in particular.

The more urgent task of the woman leader is to approach the family as a unit of society and to build its unity, strength and happiness, for only such families can become assets of the nation, competent to build a great and unique future. The Indian family is guided and protected by the caste system. This traditional approach has failed to develop in practice a whole and healthy family life with close and binding ties of understanding and affection between husband and wife, parent and children and between all the rest of the members, especially where it is a large or joint family.

Further, her position in it, determined by custom and tradition, is feudal and patriarchal, overweighted in favour of the female. The Indian Woman in the day to day life does not possess that importance and fulfill that dominant role within the family where she can contribute her best as its natural leader. Her wisdom, accompanied by training, will equip her to maintain a balanced family economy. Leaders in social work have believed that an individual approach to the family, including Investigations, Case Work and Follow-up is impossible for a long time in a vast country like India. Whilst this may be true for handling vast areas and populations, there is no reason why a beginning should not be made on a small scale, in selected areas, in model centres which are developed for training and experimentation.

The above facts are important, but general objectives are far easier to approach in the beginning. Besides, this general and less ambitious approach will help to raise up the average standard of living and education of large numbers. The general care of health, adult education, and pro-

viding training for home and work life will naturally form the basic points of an immediate programme.

With such objectives in view, the need of leadership of the right type will be immediately realised. The organizing leadership at the top and the executive leadership on the spot should be closely blended to work according to basic principles of co-operation and organizational efficiency. This is not likely to be easy because the former, for some time yet to come, is likely to consist of middle classes and possibly urban communities, whilst the latter will consist of unsophisticated rural women unaccustomed to formalities and conventionality. If the fundamental plan will aim at decentralisation and a genuinely democratic organization, it is but natural to expect that women from the rural areas will be allowed to come into their own as early as possible, and that they will be given opportunities, responsibilities and resources to determine their own plans and programmes, and chalk out for themselves a destiny which will merge harmoniously with the destiny of the nation as a whole.

Untrained, immature and inexperienced women, possessing the necessary emotional urge and willingness for hard work, should be trained in large numbers by various methods, and through different agencies and institutions. A broad and general outlook will help to bring together political, educational and scientific organizations on a common platform to achieve a major natural objective.

Training can then be given for specialisation in camps, refresher courses, classes and lectures and even by the radio and other modern means so that ideas are given quickly, clearly and simply to a large number of women who will become mature and experienced in a short time,

if allowed to use their initiative and give expression to their native talent and ability.

India is accustomed to organize through committees and other similar groups. Inefficient results are produced where these consist of persons who do not actually contribute work to the organization, or who are themselves not adequately aware of objectives, methods and programmes. The constant conflict between such committees and the executive or actual workers leads to inefficiency and disharmony. Small local committees of actual workers including the paid staff, working under broad-based centralised organizations which allow adequate scope for work and initiative to local workers, will achieve speedy and more effective results.

Programmes in rural areas requiring extensive work need to be simple, with as limited a staff as possible, reducing costs to the minimum. Attractive and large huts, instead of pukka buildings, with extensive open areas grown with large trees, provide an ideal setting for any rural headquarters. Vegetable and flower gardens add to the attractiveness as well as to the educational atmosphere of the place. Adequate water supply by large wells will not only provide the requirements of the inmates and the headquarters, but will draw the village population for water supply. This useful contact will create interest in the activities of the headquarters.

A rural centre with women workers can initiate its work with fundamental basic activities which can multiply later into a larger number of allied, secondary and functional activities. Basic activity must naturally draw the largest number for the most general activities.

It is possible to divide basic and secondary activities into six groups:—The first group will consist of programmes of

activities of a very general nature which can be attended by specific groups in large numbers. The Bal Sena provides an attractive programme for small children, both boys and girls upto about ten years. Over and above patriotic activities, the children will enjoy games, singing and music, stories, outings and similar activities. They will gradually be introduced to group activity, discipline, organization, and the ideal of Service. The youth organization for girls will function round the nucleus of a Playground and a Physical Education Movement. Gradually the members of the Playground will participate in activities discussed under other groups.

Likewise all the women of the village may be organized into a Mahilla Samaj or Women's Union with light programmes and recreational and educational activities like recreational evenings, lectures, socials, etc. Once initiated into the general organization, like the girls, they will participate in special activities of the other groups.

The Second Group of Activities provide practical interests to girls and women alike, at the same time providing them with an opportunity to contribute towards the income of their families. Village Arts and Crafts are a permanent attraction that can contribute towards stimulating patriotic fervour. The contribution that Mahatma Gandhi has made in this direction is unique in the history of India. What would have been achieved piecemeal as a mere economic activity, has been galvanised into a national and spiritual force. Spinning, carding and weaving, leatherwork, pottery, cooking, basketry, mat weaving, tailoring, etching and innumerable other arts do not merely add a little to the family income; they become the foundation of a national cultural renaissance. Effort, beauty and happiness come into the drab village home. They transform the psychology of the

woman, and she turns the spinning wheel with a smile and a song, and her tradition-ridden mind becomes receptive to a world of new ideas and hopes.

Detailed practical courses in village handicrafts should be organized after a careful study of local raw materials, needs and abilities. To the small list of existing arts and crafts, must be added a large number of new creative activities. Not only should there be a multiplication of these, but every effort should be made to improve the techniques of production as well as the tools and equipment. Eventually, these arts may evolve to become small home industries. Many European countries have applied with profit electricity to their handicrafts. But under no circumstances these home arts and crafts should be capitalised or factorised to give profit to any one except the producer, and to turn the independent woman into a slave labourer.

Regular training classes in the above subjects could be given to older girls and women, whilst young girls can adopt them as hobbies and creative recreational activities. Some of them may be left to be carried on by special organizations like the All India Spinners' Association.

The third group of activities are mainly instructional. Literary classes, "Indianisation," Mothercraft, First Aid, Domestic Economy and other useful subjects are given in elementary instructional lessons by capable instructors. Literary classes may preferably be organized by a National or Provincial organization which can supply leadership, equipment, material and finance from its own resources.

The "Indianisation" Course follows the American precedent. It is imperative that national consciousness should be actively awakened by activity and programmes specially organized on proper lines and

based on psychological principles. Over and above the usually known patriotic activities, the course will teach Indian history and current history and give an elementary understanding of national problems and national trends. Methods of developing national consciousness through the arts, especially song, poetry and music will be profitably adopted so that national awakening remains a permanent and creative force.

The importance of Mothercraft has not been fully realised in the city, and it will be unfortunate if the same neglect is going to prevail in the village. The first task of natural reconstruction is to create a new generation of healthy, intelligent and efficient children. This is difficult, not because of the lack of will or intelligence, but of the lack of opportunity and capacity. Any theoretical teaching of Mothercraft will serve only a limited purpose. What is taught must be practical and every effort should be made to provide facilities to put into practice what is imparted by the Women's Centre. Simplicity and resourcefulness will demand an entirely new and improvised course of Mothercraft for the village. The subjects will include marital hygiene, instructions for pre-natal care, care of the health of the child and children's diseases, nourishment and cooking, children's clothes, and play, information about the child's growth, habits, desires, etc. Wherever possible, practical information should be accompanied by home follow-up and visits.

Like Mothercraft, the training in Domestic Economy will also have to be adjusted to the simple needs of rural house life. Budgetting and buying, accompanied by resourcefulness, thrift, home production and efforts at self-sufficiency, promotion of interests of the village economy, economy in the use of materials, and similar simple lessons will have to be given

against a background of want, shortage and inadequacy. The unreality created by such evident contradictions in life will have to be rationalised so that the information given becomes gradually useful with the improvement in the actual situation.

In the Indian village, the woman participates in the economic activity of the family. She is a partner of the husband in the field and on the threshing floor and performs various other duties that contribute indirectly towards securing income, or saving expenditure. It is but natural that she follows her economic activity intelligently, and her traditional knowledge is revised by constructive and practical instruction. It has not been realised that the woman alone can become the most potent and effective force for agricultural improvement. She may be given instructions in matters useful to her own activity, but if she is able to grasp the details of agricultural economy, she will be able to overcome the negligence, indolence and lack of interest in farming undertaken by the male members of the family.

The woman in the Indian village is temperamentally inclined to serve the village community. This love for service can be awakened and harnessed to deal with some of the most urgent problems of village life, under the direction of the village social worker. Housing is the physical background of human life. The maintenance of good housing, the proper arrangement of the home, and the care of cleanliness and sanitation will brighten human life and preserve health. The village woman should be instructed in the care of her house; the regular visits of the social worker to the village homes will give her practical guidance and create the proper habit to give regular attention to the environment

which is the foundation of human happiness.

Family Case Work is the most difficult branch of social service. The woman leader trained in rural sociology, who understands the complex problems that face human families, will alone be able to give wise and proper guidance with reference to the maintenance of correct husband-wife, parent-child, and matri-patri loci relationships. It will not be so difficult to give proper advice regarding the solution of problems relating to health, education, marriage, work, earning and recreation of the members of the family.

Village hygiene and sanitation is another important branch of rural social service which can be rendered by the woman leader, in co-operation with other persons and agencies dealing with the same problem. The woman can especially supervise, organize and have the necessary work done to meet social needs.

Roads, water supply, the cleanliness of open spaces, markets, places of worship and recreation can all receive the attention of intelligent women who realise the importance of these in village economy.

Human culture is not the monopoly of urban life. On the contrary, the village has a simple culture which has a beauty and an appeal all its own. It will be the woman's task in the village to understand and appreciate it, and to take active measures to foster more cultural activities. It is primarily essential to organize and activate the social life of the village. The festivals of village India have a meaning and an appeal for the villager. These need to be revived and purified, so that they become important forces for socializing the community and creating the necessary background of social harmony and happiness. An active social life of the village, with its songs, music and dance, will help

to brighten the life of the home and the individual. The same social life will foster social justice and strengthen the bonds of different social and communal groups.

• An active social life will pave the way for a useful and intelligent public life. The village panchayats should no longer function without an equal number of female members. The presence of these will add to the importance and efficiency of this most important unit of India's political life. The woman will not only secure her rightful place in public life, but she will introduce new functions which are vital for the organic life of the Indian villager. The village panchayat will continue to perform the few functions still left to it by the British administration and revive all its other activities which have been usurped by the newly created agencies of the British Government. Besides, it will assume its rightful place of leadership in village life and become the spearhead of education, reform and progress.

Institutional development under the auspices of female leadership should begin when the village centre has successfully carried out the above functions for some time, and the women workers have established contact and won the goodwill and confidence of the local population:

The Village Nursery is not only a useful institution, but it is the sure foundation of a healthy and efficient future generation. It need not have any pompous and costly existence. As nurseries are wanted by the hundreds, and adequate leadership will not be available for some time, they should be a one-woman organization gradually growing with the help of locally recruited girl workers. It is even not necessary that the Nursery should train children according to well-known methods with standard equipment.

Housed in a clean and large hut with open grounds, shady trees and a small garden, the Nursery should provide a healthy and beautiful environment where the children can grow in happiness, enjoying the companionship of other children. After the completion of three years, the free school may gradually admit smaller children of both sexes. The aim of the Nursery should be to provide ample opportunities to the child for growth through nourishment, play and activity. Every child should be able to receive milk and a light balanced diet. The nourishment of children in a village can never be costly. The school can have its own cows and buffaloes, or local landlords can provide cheap milk. Grain should be collected from the community at harvest time. The school should grow its own vegetables. The villager will gladly give butter and ghee for his own children.

Being in the open air, the properly nourished child, engaged actively in play and exercise, is bound to remain physically healthy and grow normally. It will have opportunities for ample rest and sleep in the afternoons after lunch time. Songs, music, dancing and games will contribute towards the emotional development of children. The creative curriculum will include sense training and development through an applied use of Froebel or Montessori methods, simplified to suit village conditions. Children will engage themselves in easy agricultural activity from the earliest possible age. Skill will be developed through handiwork, clay modelling, spinning, scissorcraft, toymaking, drawing and painting, sewing, embroidery and similar activities.

• The Infant and Women's Welfare Centre can likewise be created if and when resources and leadership are available. A creche for the benefit of mothers with

young children engaged in rural employments may be organized during the heavy work season. When women receive proper pre-natal, maternity and post-natal care, the health of the future Indian population will be assured.

The task the women of India have agreed to shoulder in the national interest is unique in the history of the world. It may be true that women in the West have been emancipated, but this emancipation has been mainly economic and has

to some extent weakened the family structure. Women in India have taken the right road of service and have not forgotten the ideological background of the ancient Stri Dharma. They will use their well-deserved freedom for the strengthening and beautifying of the home, not forgetting to play their proper role in the economic, political, and social life of the country. As a result of such ideals and activities our women will, let us hope, rightly become models worthy of emulation, at least by all women of Asia.

CRIME—SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS

ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW.

The etiology of crime must, the author opines, take into account not only economic factors but also certain other factors which, though inevitably associated with economic conditions of life, may more properly be called social factors. He considers some of these in this the second part of his article.

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Part II—Social Factors and Crime.

In the previous article we saw how economic factors play an important part in the causation of crime. Economic factors are definitely social factors. There are, however, certain factors which, though inevitably associated with economic conditions of life, may more properly be called social factors ; and these too should be taken into account when we deal with the etiology of crime. Some of them we shall consider in this article.

Maladjustment in the School.—The school is sometimes a place of repression of the young, especially for those pupils who cannot shine through achievements in the scholastic field or on the playground. The fact of repression is particularly hard on those children who come from homes of unhappiness. They would feel a wholesome sense of relief if the atmosphere of an unsatisfactory home could be exchanged for a few hours of peace and happiness in a school staffed with tactful, sympathetic and understanding teachers. Unfortunately children who come to the school as problems have their unhappiness aggravated by teachers, who consider that they should by punishment and discipline, mould those who find social adjustments difficult into conventional personality types. Worse than the influence of tactless and harsh teachers is the influence of the unsympathetic and often cruel attitude of the school-mates of such children. In this manner the school which should have rectified some of the errors in training in the home becomes an aggravator of troubles in

the case of at least some of its young members. Children who are not gifted with a normal amount of intellect are often ridiculed for their unsatisfactory progress in their studies and are made miserable. Very few of our schools are run on the principle that schools should be adjusted to the needs of children. They talk of adjustments, but all the adjustments they visualize are adjustments on the part of children to the routine and discipline of the school. When children who were unjustly or tactlessly treated by some harsh upholders of discipline in school come out into the world, some of them are tempted to rebel against rules of decorum and social propriety.

Delinquency, a Companionship Affair.—Delinquency, especially in the young, is what may be called a companionship affair. Throughout the world, parents, when questioned regarding the cause of their children's delinquency, attribute it to the influence of their playmates. There is a good deal of truth in this viewpoint. The answer given by these parents is correct so far as it goes, though it does not go far enough. For instance, we do not know whether a particular boy, who has been spoilt (as his parents put it) by evil companions, played an active role as leader of his little gang. In that case, though it is true that his erring ways are due to evil companions, those companions themselves were brought together, or at any rate held together, by his dominant position in the gang. Or, it may be that the boy under consideration may be very suggestible and

that suggestions of errant ways, which do not cause many other boys to commit an offence, make this particular boy come under their unwholesome influence and pursue a delinquent line of conduct. Be that as it may, it cannot be questioned that the companionship of other delinquent children is an important etiological factor in juvenile delinquency. It is therefore the duty of those interested in social welfare to see that children and young people get facilities for wholesome play activities. Gregariousness is an important characteristic in human nature, and it is particularly strong in the young. If adequate playground facilities are provided for children and young people, they are able to satisfy this instinctive craving for companionship and to find means of self-expression in a group. Earlier in this paper we saw how many of the homes of poor people, especially in cities, are overcrowded, and how elderly people turn children out into the street in order that they may have some quiet time and moving space in the home for household work. Such children naturally find others of their own age in the same predicament, and together they do a number of things. They spend a lot of time playing about in the street; and occasionally their play takes the form of mischievous pranks, hooliganism and other forms of errant behaviour. Children thus help one another in getting into evil ways, and those who are a little more experienced in these matters or are more adventurous than the rest serve as informal teachers of mischief to the latter. Occasionally, we hear of elderly people who train urchins to be pickpockets and little thieves and shop-lifters. In the same way, we hear of elderly women with the help of certain evil men inducing, getting hold of, and training little girls in evil ways. Many young people fall into snares set for them

by these wicked men and women mostly on account of economic difficulties and sometimes also on account of the fact that no wholesome facilities are provided for them to enjoy harmless fun and play under proper supervision.

Amusements.—The amusements of people have something to do with the causation of crime. Cinema pictures glorifying the extravagant, sensational, and often irresponsible and antisocial aspects of life are likely to foster and strengthen tendencies of a similar kind in the young. A French social psychologist, Tarde, based all his psychology of social life on the "instinct" of imitation. Imitation may not be as all-pervasive as Tarde thought it was, for there are other tendencies and principles that work in individual and corporate lives; but there cannot be any gainsaying the fact that imitation is a powerful tendency. But the damage done by pictures of the kind mentioned above is graver, as Cyril Burt points out, than the presentation of evil examples that may be imitated by immature persons young or old. "Quite apart from the definite presentation of wrong-doing, the social dramas and the pictures of high life, with a force as subtle as it is cumulative, stir the curiosity, heat the imagination, and work upon fantasies, of boys and girls of every age. They provide models and material for all-engrossing day-dreams and create a yearning for a life of gaiety—a craze for fun, frolic and adventure, for personal admiration and for extravagant self-display—to a degree that is usually unwholesome and almost invariably unwise. It is, most of all, in its treatment of the social relations between the opposite sexes that the effects of the film are most injurious.....In the moving picture, the intimate details of courtship, coquetry and married life are given in ocular

demonstration with far more vividness, particularity, and repetition than could possibly be provided in the printed book or on the stage. All who have worked with juvenile delinquents must have realized how stimulating such exhibitions are to the sexual instincts and interests not only among adolescents, but also, prematurely and precociously, among quite young boys and girls. Nor are the ultimate effects confined to habits, thoughts and vices of specially sexual character. Here, once more, direct and immediate imitation is the rarer outcome. More frequently, there is, first of all, a furtive perplexity and mental conflict; then, an intolerance of the strain; and, finally, a burst of violence or adventure, which on the surface may have nothing whatever to do with sex, but is calculated to relieve the deeper tension, and to drown the hidden promptings, by some wave of desperation, more turbulent perhaps, but less ruinous and degrading.”*

Many young delinquents in cities, when questioned about the cause of their delinquency, attribute it to the influence of picture houses. We cannot, however, say that cinemas produce anti-social conduct as such, for when there are ten people who commit crime under its influence, there are several hundreds of those who see the same pictures and remain normal law-abiding people. As a matter of fact the cinema serves some people at least as a counter-attraction that saves them from more questionable forms of amusements. Into the psychological aspect of this question, as of several other factors mentioned in this paper, I do not propose now to enter, except to mention that what the cinema does is to serve as a provocation to those who by a series of

circumstances, present an unbalanced attitude to life.

Gambling is another amusement that is associated with the etiology of crime. It is believed that gambling is responsible for a considerable proportion of cases where fraud, dishonesty or embezzlement are involved. One expert witness who gave evidence before the Royal Commission (England) on betting, 1932-33, estimated that the percentage of crime due to gambling was above one-fourth among the total. But the influence of gambling like that of the cinema is more often indirect than direct. One of the Probation Officers who appeared as witness before the Commission mentioned as an example the case of a young man. “Two or three years ago he embezzled money; and he told me that he went to the dogs with it and he won £8. That made him feel very rich, and he began to spend; he got ideas beyond his position and then he stole to satisfy his craving for things that he could not afford.” It is commonly recognised that the influence of amusements of this kind is a slow process of undermining the moral force of resistance, rather than a direct incentive to crime. Similarly, we may consider the influence of newspapers on young and susceptible minds. Here, too, it is not a direct influence that we see so much as an indirect and almost imperceptible process. Reports of unscrupulously adventurous events, display of luxury articles in advertisement columns, and possibly still more so the publicity given to court proceedings in cases of assault against person and property—all these are likely to serve as incentives to anti-social conduct.

The Role of Religion.—No one can deny the fact that the spiritual values and cultural traditions of a people have some-

*Cyril Burt: *The Young Delinquent*, Ch. IV, p. 149 f., 1931 Edn., University of London Press.

thing to do with the number of crimes that obtains among them. But it is questionable whether the religiosity of people as such makes them better behaved citizens than others. Bongers, a professor of Criminology in the University of Amsterdam, thinks that if there is any correlation between crime and the religious life of the people, it is rather something that shows that agnostics are less represented in crime figures than those who profess religion. I do not think that he believes that religion arouses a tendency in people to be criminally inclined. What he means is that membership of an organized religious community and participation in its rites and ceremonies does not make people any more law-abiding than those who do not have any such religious profession. The fact that agnostics number fewer in crime figures is due to the fact, as he believes, that people who have the courage and honesty to depart from conventional ways of thinking and arrive at their own conclusion are not so numerous as those who follow the beaten track of conventional forms of propriety.* The pursuit of traditional or conventional forms of piety does not make one necessarily conscious of his duty towards neighbours and fellow citizens. I do not think, however, that Bongers would deny that those who are enabled to think of moral values and their importance in social life are thereby enabled to lead more useful and socially helpful lives than their unthinking neighbours.

Alcoholism.—Alcoholism is widely recognized to be associated with the causation of crime. Dr. G. M. Scott is inclined to think that 70 per cent of all offences in England are associated with alcoholism ;** and some there are who put the percentage

much higher. As a matter of fact it is very difficult to get correct figures of offences associated with drunkenness—for drunkenness as an offence is not recorded when it is accompanied by another offence. The offences usually associated with alcoholism are of various kinds. First, there are those that are in the nature of violence, assault and other forms of antisocial conduct on the part of the people drunk. This is due to the fact that as the process of intoxication or narcotisation develops, judgment becomes more and more defective and self-control becomes less and less effective, with the result that a person under the influence of drink is inclined to express himself in words and actions in a way different from what he would have done if he were sober. In this condition of reduced self-control, he may say or do things which might irritate others and lead them to retaliate. He himself is inclined to be violent, and his violent attitude calls forth violence on the part of others. If he is in charge of motor-vehicles, he endangers his own life and that of others. In the advanced stages of drunkenness a person becomes incapable of looking after himself. "He sometimes lies in the street unconscious, and his helplessness," as Dr. G. M. Scott says, "leads frequently to the commission of crimes on the part of others. Thefts are particularly numerous, and the victim is left without a penny in his pocket. It is by no means uncommon for violence to be added if the victim, under rough handling, begins any form of resistance. It is often difficult to discover whether the injuries which some of these cases present are due to falls or to violence inflicted by others. As a rule no recollection of such injuries is preserved and the person may be attended to and may have

*W. A. Bongers: *An Introduction to Criminology*, (Tran. E. V. Lad), Ch. VIII, p. 129, Methuen, 1939.

** G. M. Scott : *Alcoholism and Criminal Behaviour*, see Ch. VIII in *Mental Abnormality and Crime* (English Studies in Criminal Science Series, Macmillan, 1945).

his cuts stitched without becoming aware of it.”*

Another effect of alcoholism is on the home. A man addicted to alcohol spends more upon himself than he is entitled to, with the result that he creates or aggravates an economic problem at home. If the man who drinks excessively is a poor man, as often happens, he leaves the family destitute. J. L. Gillin says that in 584 boys who appeared in the courts in Chicago in 1903 and 1904, 107 had habitual drunkenness in their families.** It is sometimes supposed that drunkenness in parents leads to the same vice in children. This is not always borne out by the facts. But the drunkenness of parents so interferes with the peace and calm of children that they find it difficult to bear the tension and conflict that goes on within them. In the home and at school, in their relations with their playmates and their social activities, and in their work, they show in plenty those unwholesome behaviour traits which we expect from emotionally disturbed children. Such emotional ill-adjustments might manifest themselves in their lives in numerous ways : in illnesses of the body or of the mind, in a sense of frustration in their attitude to life, in inability to put forth their best into any work or study they undertake, or in delinquent forms of conduct such as theft, truancy, sex offences, and personal assaults.

Political Offences.—The Government and political institutions of a country have something to do with the causation of crime. They at least serve as an indicator of the attitude of the people at large towards crime. Where life is held to be very cheap, dissatisfied people being ready

to kill and destroy at slight provocations, the whole atmosphere is as it were a breeding ground of criminal deeds. Repression and the employment of violent measures by the State to put down offences have a tendency to produce a result opposite to the one desired. Violence begets violence; and in those countries where violent punishments are in vogue, more frequent administration of violent measures seems to be called for than in other countries. In England, where capital punishments are now-a-days rare, there were in the middle of the 18th century one hundred and sixty crimes for which the death penalty was prescribed.† When it was proposed that the death penalty in regard to most of these offences should be abolished there was fear that thereby crimes would increase in the country. Capital punishments being sparingly administered have not, to say the least, resulted in any increase in crime ; and today in those countries where capital punishment is the exception rather than the rule, people are, if at all, more peaceful in their social reactions than in the countries where such punishments are still the rule.

The category of crimes known as political offences forms a special group. They are mostly found in subject countries, i.e., countries that do not have sovereign rule but are under the domination of some foreign power. We come across them also in independent countries when a majority or a strong minority of subjects hold views—especially on Government matters—contrary to those held by the ruling authority. Political offences are often better planned and organized than ordinary crimes, and they are often led by some of

* G. M. Scott : *Alcoholism and Criminal Behaviour*, Ch. VIII in *Mental Abnormality and Crime* (English Studies in Criminal Science Series, Macmillan, 1945.)

** J. L. Gillin : *Social Pathology*, Ch. XXXII, p. 566, B. Appleton Century Co., New York, 1933.

† J. W. C. Turner : *Mental Element in Crimes in The Modern Approach to Criminal Law*, English Studies in Criminal Science, Cambridge, Pub. Macmillan, 1945.

the finest individuals of the country concerned. Instances of it are found in abundance in a country like India. The fact that individuals like Gandhiji, Nehru, Lajpatrai, Sarojini Naidu, Acharya Kripalani, Tilak and Rajagopalacharya were shut up several times in prisons under the orders of the representatives of the foreign country that rules India, is enough to show that for political offences some of the finest flowers of a nation's life are treated like ordinary criminals. But it so happens that these men, treated like common criminals, are not rarely in the course of a few years called upon to occupy the highest position in the affairs of a nation.

Leaders in the van-guard of political opposition, open or underground, occupy practically the same position as leaders in a country that goes to war with a neighbouring country. I do not contend that the rank and file are always actuated by the same motives as the leaders. This applies also to the rank and file that follow national leaders in times of war. Where thousands of people are concerned, we cannot expect that their motives are always of unmingled purity. Many people who take part in a war or in a political insurrection are actuated among other things by a desire for adventure and excitement and sometimes even by personal considerations of a mercantile character. Again, there are people who join wars or movements of this kind in order to get away from the dreary rounds of routine life or from intolerable internal tensions and conflicts.

A movement, however, should not be judged by the weakest or the least desirable elements that compose it. It is a pity that men and women of the noble calibre mentioned above should be treated in the same way as criminals who undertake anti-social enterprises for evil purposes.

Hentig asserts that punishment is the setting up of an artificial danger. Normal people avoid situations that cause danger to them as they are concerned for their own safety—they do not want to fall into dangers. The penal system of a country, according to this view, sets up danger-situations in the form of systems of punishments in order that people may be dissuaded from anti-social lines of conduct ; but the high-souled men and women who participate in political crimes do not care for the “artificial dangers” prescribed for them. If they revolt against organized authority it is because they are moved by higher considerations of life ; and they are respected by people at large for their heroism and unselfishness. Punishments cannot under such circumstances make them desist from lines of activities which would entail the loss of freedom and sacrifice of personal ambitions—not to speak of the hardship and occasional, if not frequent, ill-treatment at the hands of people who are far inferior to them in intellectual, moral and social qualities. This is an instance where disobedience and revolt against established authority is a direct consequence of social and political conditions.

War and Crime.—Crime has something in common with war, and it is generally believed that in times of war, crime is more prevalent than in peaceful times. A patient study of statistics goes to prove that there is some correlation between the two, but that it is not so pronounced as to establish a direct cause-and-effect relationship between them. For instance, it has not been found that destruction of life on a mass scale on battle-fronts is accompanied by violence against civilians in the combatant countries. On the other hand, in times of war there is a tendency for crimes against property to be on the

increase. This may be accounted for by the fact that economic and social factors of the kind we have referred to above are operative particularly strongly in times of war. While war is being waged many people make money and those who get more money into their hands unexpectedly and without specially hard work, place a temptation before their less fortunate neighbours. These latter are inclined to ask themselves the question why they should be denied when all others seem to be making cheap money and plenty of it. Thus we find acts of fraud and embezzlement multiplying in such times. Shop-breakers and burglars have better opportunity of carrying on their nefarious activities when cheap money seems to be available everywhere. The morals of the "have-nots" are, as someone has observed, to a large extent created by the conduct of the "haves."

Broken families are a special feature of war days. The separation of husband and wife from each other may be regarded as a situation fraught with possibilities of trouble of various kinds. For one thing, the absence of the man from the home for a long time and his experience of different vicissitudes of life changes his views and attitudes so radically that when he returns home he faces his wife and children with new and unaccustomed problems of adjustment. The wife, being accustomed in her turn to lead a life without immediate relation with her husband for a long time and often having done much by way of supporting herself and the children, presents the man with problems of adjustment which he too is ill-prepared to face. Difficulties are aggravated where either the one or the other of the life-partners has

meanwhile developed new sex intimacies. Under such circumstances the spectacle of broken families is in no way infrequent.

The author of *Briton Holds on*, written in 1933, referring to the time of World War I, said: "It was not unusual that quite young women married three times or so during the War."* A writer in *The Spectator*, who cooperated with Dr. Fisher (before he became the Archbishop of Canterbury) and a few others in organizing "Marriage Guidance Centres" in different parts of England, said: "In a statistical analysis recently published, I gave some figures which reveal the present position in England and Wales. At least one in eight of all babies now born is conceived outside marriage; of all first babies, one in four. The number of marriages which breaks down seriously enough to go to the courts was in 1943 more than one in ten of all new marriages, and is now certainly higher. These figures merely confirm statistically what we all know from personal observation—that chastity and fidelity are no longer accepted standards for a large and increasing section of the community. The potential consequences of all this for marriage, for home life and for child life are plain enough."** It is idle to pretend that this is entirely due to war conditions, for a tendency in this direction has been very much in evidence even before the war, as may be shown from statistics for 1939 of the Registrar General quoted by Dr. William Brend.†

It is a painful fact that nearly half of the inmates of prisons in many countries of the world are people who have had two or more convictions already in their life. They were fined, bound over for good behaviour, or sent to prison for some

*Miss Playne: *Briton Holds On*, quoted by Hermann Mannheim in *War and Crime*, Ch. III, p. 103.

** David R. Mace: *Broken Marriages* in *The Spectator* (London), July 27, 1945.

† William Brend: *Foundations of Conflicts*, Ch. X, p. 147, Chapman & Hall, London, 1944.

offence ; but these measures, instead of reforming them, seem to send them out with a stronger tendency to fall into delinquent ways again. Hermann Mannheim made a statistical study of 606 ex-Borstal boys chosen from records arranged in alphabetical order and taken without deliberate choice—they may, therefore, be regarded as fairly representative of the usual Borstal population of England. The following taken from his study are of interest to us :—*

I

Previous convictions (including probation order):

No. of Covictions	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	and more
No. of boys	31	147	191	127	58	24	11	11	3	3	

II

Offences for which sent to Borstal:

Offences against property	... 536	Endangering safety on Railway	... 1
False Pretences	... 6	Sexual offences	10
Forgery	... 2	Escapement from custody	1
Arson	... 2	Breach of recognizance	4
Possessing mould for coins	... 1	Escaping from home, office, school	6
Suspected person, loitering	... 10	Wandering	2
Attempted murder	... 1	Other offences	6
Wounding	... 8	Unknown	10

III

Ages at time of first conviction:

Age	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	Unknown
No. of boys	7	10	22	43	46	45	47	64	83	100	65	41	30	1	20

*Hermann Mannheim : *Social Aspects of Crime in England between the Wars*, Ch. X, p. 254, George Allen & Unwin, London.

It will be noticed that all except 5% of the young lads sent to the Borstal had one or more convictions—many of them with two to four, and a few with as many as eight or nine previous convictions. Similar is the situation, though differences in figures are bound to be there, in many ordinary prisons where there are vast numbers of people with some previous conviction or other before their being sent to jail for the latest offence.

Facts of this kind bring home to our minds the fact that important as it is that individuals should be adjusted to society, attention should be given equally well to the social environment in which the young people grow up. Special regard should be given to young people and children, for it is in these earlier stages of life that people get into delinquent ways. There is undoubtedly something in the personality of the individual concerned that makes him an offender while many people living in the same difficult circumstances do not err. But, as has been made clear in the course of this paper, the temptation to ignore existing laws and regulations is very sore in the case of large numbers of individuals, so much so that the wonder is not that the number of offenders is so big, but that it is not much bigger still. Formerly society thought that all it had to do to prevent crime was to give punishments so harsh that the offender himself would not repeat the offence and that others by his hard example would be taught to desist from following any anti-social tendency that may be lying dormant within them. Experience, however, tells us, and statistical studies in various countries confirm it, that the fear of punishment can neither be so preventive in the case of the offender or deterrent in the case of others as was fondly believed by many people. The way to reduce the number of offences is to try to remove

the causes of offence. This necessarily implies attention being given to the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual needs of people. With due care given to these aspects of crime, offences are still bound to arise ; but their number will be definitely smaller.

Encourage Self-Respect.—Another matter we should consider in dealing with the social aspects of crime is in regard to the treatment of offenders who unfortunately will always be found in our imperfect world. Society has a responsibility in caring for these unfortunate people—unfortunate and unhappy individuals most offenders are—so that they may be turned from their evil ways to ways of self-respect. If once they are taught to have true self-respect and self-confidence, they may be trusted to respect the rights and privileges of others. The goal should be the rehabilitation of personality : each individual, however big an offender he may be, should be given a fresh chance to reconstruct his life in a wholesome way. This, however, is a subject that should be specially dealt with in a separate paper all by itself, and therefore is not attempted here. To sum up, in considering the social aspects of crime we have to take into account two most important phases. One, as we have just seen, relates to the responsibility of society in reclaiming offenders (about which we have not said much here). The other phase is concerned with the still more important aspect of society making such adjustments within itself as to reduce the number of offenders and offences. To give attention to such matters as the economic condition of the poor and the working class people, to the problem of proper housing, of providing recreational facilities for all, especially for the young, and of looking after the cultural needs of the people—this may be said to be a kind of social insurance against crime and its consequences.

STATE WELFARE WORK IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

E. J. S. RAM

The worker's welfare has for long been the subject of State action, but increasing importance is being attached to it now-a-days and it continues to expand. In this the first part of his article, the author, after giving a short historical survey of welfare work in general, proceeds to examine welfare measures, both inside and outside the factory, as at present existing in the United Kingdom.

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Part I.

With the growth and development of industries in the United Kingdom it was realized that one of the important duties of the State in relation to labour is welfare work, which may be defined as work for the improvement and betterment of the economic, social and moral status of the workers. Welfare work, in effect, means the work undertaken for improving the health, safety, comfort, general well-being and industrial efficiency of the workers beyond the minimum standards laid down by the Factories Acts and other labour legislations. As far as health and safety of the worker are concerned, they have for long been the subject of State action, especially in matters relating to the protection of the worker against accident and injury to health arising out of his employment, and there is in existence a considerable body of protective legislation laying down minimum standards of health and comfort in regard to conditions inside the factory.

Historical Background.—Although attempts were made here and there to improve the general standards of conditions under which work in the factories was carried on, yet a rapid development of labour policies relating to welfare work was witnessed during the 1914-18 war period. The State and the employers had then to face two kinds of labour difficulties, primarily to procure sufficient labour force, and secondly to get the maximum amount of production. The reduction of labour

supply owing to compulsory military service necessitated the entry into industry of a large number of girls and women who were entirely unfamiliar with factory work. These unskilled workers had to be trained and the strange environment made agreeable enough to keep them contented and willing to stay on the job.

With the increasing demand for munitions and the employment of girls and women on heavy and dangerous work, welfare work received a sudden stimulus from the Ministry of Munitions. The Police, Factories (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1916, was enacted in order to give statutory recognition for the first time to the idea of welfare, and to enable the State to compel the backward employers to provide welfare amenities hitherto provided only by the enlightened ones. A Health and Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions was set up and the appointment of a Welfare Officer in all government and controlled factories was made obligatory. The chief motive behind the movement was the improvement of physical conditions within the factories as a means of increasing output and of conserving the strength of a large number of girls and women who were working under conditions which made abnormal demands on their health and energies.

A number of welfare orders, relating to the supply of bringing water, of protective clothing, ambulance and first-aid

arrangements, the supply and use of seats in work-rooms, facilities for washing, accommodation for clothing, arrangements for the supervision of workpeople, and the provision of rest-rooms, were made under this Act. The service rendered by the Ministry of Munitions was of utmost importance as it stimulated public opinion and interest with regard to the national necessity of safeguarding the health of the industrial workers and helped in the promotion of various forms of voluntary welfare activities through joint discussions between employers and employees. It also authorised Parliament to improve working conditions by the organization of research into industrial fatigue and its relation to output. In these ways the British Government gave to the whole country a valuable lesson in organized welfare work, which has now come to be recognized by a large number of firms as an essential part of their organization.

After the World War I, voluntary welfare work was continued by the foundation of the Industrial Welfare Society and the Institute of Labour Management.

The employers also realized that labour welfare work, apart from its usefulness in promoting business prosperity, was necessary to keep labour loyal, contented and happy, to avoid disputes and conflicts, and to maintain peace and harmony within the industry. While in many factories welfare activities were limited largely to minimum legal requirements, there were quite a few progressive factories where voluntary measures were introduced which tried to provide a higher minimum of comfort and other amenities of life than those enforced by the Factories Acts. The welfare schemes of some firms included such matters as housing, thrift schemes, pensions, medical attention, education,

recreation, amusements of all kinds and arrangements for holidays.

Though welfare work in the United Kingdom in the pre-war years was carried on to a certain extent with State aid, the acceleration of the industries to meet the demands of the recent World War had forced the State as well as the private industrialist to intensify welfare activity to keep labour peaceful, contented and happy. It is gratifying to note that subsequent to the declaration of hostilities, the British Government not only thought it expedient to increase welfare work in industrial undertakings, but also deemed it essential to transfer this portfolio in June, 1940, from the Home Secretary under the Factories Act to the Minister of Labour and National Service, in order to give this work more time, importance and attention.

Since then many new orders and enactments have been passed in order to link up the promotion of good working conditions inside the factories more closely with the arrangements for regulating labour in war-time, and with the arrangements for promoting the welfare of workpeople outside the factories. This led to a great revival of welfare activity, particularly on the part of the State. For the first time in the history of the welfare movement in the United Kingdom the idea of fostering "welfare outside the factory" in addition to "welfare inside the factory" became an object of government policy under the Ministry of Labour. In June 1940, a Welfare Department of the Ministry of Labour was set up, which was mainly made responsible for the organization and development of welfare activities and facilities for war-workers outside the factories. At the same time, the Minister of Labour and National Service appointed a Factory and Welfare Advisory Board to advise him on

questions of health, safety and welfare arrangements inside the factories, as well as on the lodging, feeding, transport and other facilities which had to be provided outside the factory for the thousands of workers made to leave their homes and sent to places of work all over the country. In March 1943, the Minister of Labour and National Service appointed an Industrial Health Advisory Committee to advise him on technical and scientific matters connected with the work of the Factory and Welfare Department in relation to industrial health.

Broadly speaking, welfare work under the control and management of the State in the United Kingdom can be divided into four broad divisions :—

- I. Safety, Health and Welfare inside the Factory.
- II. Industrial Welfare outside the Factory.
- III. Seamen's Welfare.
- IV. Coalmines' Welfare.

Safety, Health and Welfare inside the Factory

Hours of Work.—The Factory Inspectorate is concerned with the administration and enforcement of the safety, health and welfare conditions in premises subject to the Factories Acts and the regulation of the hours of work of men, women and young persons employed in factories. Although hours of work of men in factories are not, generally speaking, restricted by law, it is emphasised by the Factory Inspectors that unduly long hours without proper weekly rests and other breaks, are not only objectionable from the point of view of health and fatigue, but are actually an impediment to efficient production. As regards the hours of women and young persons in factories (which are restricted by law), it was found necessary

to authorise during the war longer hours than those permissible in peace-time and various other modifications of the provisions of the Factories Acts. Nevertheless, it was considered necessary to keep their hours under control so as to prevent over-fatigue and consequent ill-effects upon production. Such control was exercised through the issue of Emergency Orders which were made after consultation with workpeople and their representatives and administered by the Factory Inspectorate.

Health and Welfare Arrangements in Factories.—It is constantly urged that every employer should seek to surround the workers with the best material environment which his special circumstances and the conditions of his industry render practicable. Progressive employers are gradually beginning to realize the value and importance of welfare work within the factory, and have, in most cases, extended welfare arrangements, particularly in providing canteens, medical and nursing services, and welfare supervision and personnel management. It may not be out of place to mention here that the scope of welfare work, as described by Mr. Leonard J. King, is closely connected with what is now generally known as Personnel Management, and may include any of the following activities :—

- (i) Initial selection, medical inspection and initiation schemes.
- (ii) Care for comfort and health in work by attention to lighting, heating, ventilation, sanitation, seating, canteens, cloakrooms, first aid, dentistry, chiropody, assistance during sickness, holidays and endeavours to avoid over-time and short-time.
- (iii) Educational assistance, both technical and non-technical, linking up with and in extension,

of that provided by Local Authorities (and backed by a promotion scheme where possible), and also the wider development which can be obtained through Works Committees, Thrift Schemes, Suggestions Committees.

- (iv) Recreational and Social activities, which provide healthy relaxation and help, by a Committee system to develop initiative through experience gained in managing other people. The aim should be to make these self-supporting so far as running expenses are concerned, and not competitive with other local activities.
- (v) The development of personality through such activities as Hobbies, Exhibitions, Magazines, and Dramatic and Musical Societies.
- (vi) The provision of Physical Training, Sports and Camps, where desirable and in demand.
- (vii) Provision of Co-partnership and other Profit Sharing Schemes, Pensions and Unemployment Funds, and where necessary, Housing Accommodation."

It is, however, necessary for the efficient administration and organization of the above activities that specialists are engaged as Welfare Supervisors, and that all concerned in the unit realize that there must be mutual co-operation and mutual acceptance of responsibilities. It is gratifying to note that employers are beginning to appreciate to a much greater degree than formerly how important a part personnel

management plays in the economy of a factory. In his appeal to employers and employees for the Drive for Victory, Mr. Ernest Bevin, then Minister of Labour and National Service, stated: "I am constantly urging in various ways the importance of proper personnel management and supervision of the welfare of factory workers, and this was particularly stressed in a leaflet, in which I made a number of suggestions addressed especially to firms who had not previously employed women operators. In the case of the larger factories, the need for appointing special supervisory officers is impressed on the firms by factory inspectors wherever appropriate, and the number of such appointments is steadily increasing. While there is still a good deal more to be done in this matter, I am satisfied that both employers and trade union representatives are more and more coming to appreciate its importance." As regards the provision of canteens, employers of more than 250 workers are required to set up a canteen where meals may be purchased by the workers inside the factory or in the immediate vicinity. Special courses for Welfare Supervisors are organized and conducted with the help and assistance of the Universities and the Institute of Labour Management to supply trained and efficient leaders to the industry for the organization and administration of welfare activities.

Prevention of Accidents.—The loss due to accidents is a particularly serious matter during war-time, and the risk is increased due to the ignorance of the newly recruited persons who are unacquainted with factory life and the use of machinery. The Factory Inspectors had, therefore, to launch with the help of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents a special safety campaign in a large number of factories engaged on war work. Efforts were made to

bring down the rate of accidents through better lighting, strict instructions to the management to teach safety measures to inexperienced workers, fencing of dangerous machinery and colouring of mobile and immobile parts of machinery. Instructions in safety were also given to workers through the exhibition of posters, charts, films, slides, etc. A large number of progressive firms have appointed a "Safety Officer" whose duties can be split up into three headings (a) Executive, (b) Advisory, and (c) Propulsive.

(a) Executive. This covers the jobs that the Safety Officer has to do himself in the office or about the works. They include (i) acting as Secretary to the Works Safety Committee, keeping the minutes and a careful record of the recommendations made by the Committee; (ii) following up all recommendations and reporting back to the source whether they have been carried out or not, and if not, then exactly why not. This is most important—suggestions soon dry up if ideas are turned down without explanation; (iii) investigating individual accidents on site and common types of accidents in bulk, so to speak, by using statistical analysis; (iv) keeping records of all lost-time accidents, tabulating and analysing them, and working out Frequency and Severity Rates; (v) making regular routine inspections of all parts of the works, usually in company with the Departmental Head or Foreman; (vi) arranging poster displays and all other forms of propaganda, including distribution of safety literature, arrangement of meetings, safety weeks, talks by managers and foremen, etc.; (vii) maintaining a close liason with works Engineering and Construction Departments about the safeguarding of any new machinery, plant and buildings and with the Factory Inspectors, First-Aid Section, Works Medical Officer, etc.

(b) Advisory. Advising all and sundry about machine-guarding and all other technical preventive methods, about personal protective devices and their use, about operating safety rules and about the law.

(c) Propulsive. There is not much that can be said on this except that a Safety Officer's main job is to get everyone in the works to do his or her bit in safety. This must be his constant aim. When the engineers always guard machines as they should, without being urged, when managers run their departments on thoroughly safety-conscious lines, when foremen always give proper safety instructions about every job, when every worker understands the urgent need for, and the possibility of, preventing accidents, then, and only then, can the Safety Officer say that his job is being really well done. The point is that the Safety Officer can no more make the works safe by his direct actions than the Production Manager can speed up production by getting on to a machine and turning the handles. The Production Manager gets results by "boosting" other people to do their best, each in his own job, for production. The Safety Officer must tackle safety in the same way.

The appointment of a Safety Officer in a factory is a novel feature of the present day British industry which has contributed very largely towards the reduction of all avoidable accidents in factories. It is essential, if accidents are to be avoided, to appoint a specially qualified Safety Officer to instruct the workers in the proper use of machinery and to cultivate among them the "Safety first" habit.

Lighting and Ventilation.—Leaving the aesthetic aspects of the question aside, all up-to-date factory administrators agree as to the importance of having the workrooms

well lighted. It is also emphasised by the Factory Inspectors during their inspection of works that proper ventilation, without draughts, and adequate means to avoid excessive heat in summer and cold in winter are matters which should never be neglected. Although towards the beginning of the war, hastily improvised "black out" arrangements were made without due regard to their effects on ventilation and lighting inside the factory, widespread improvements have since been secured and now that the hostilities have ceased conditions are rapidly improving. As regards lighting, which is an important factor from the point of view of efficient production and the prevention of accidents as well as for the comfort of the workers, the Minister of Labour and National Service has made Regulations to supplement the general requirements of the Factories Acts on the subject by laying down more specific standards of sufficient and suitable lighting. In some factories it was observed that employers have introduced great improvements in rooms which previously were very dusty, by means of appliances of various kinds for the removal of dust. Much thought is also given to ventilation and wherever this is found to be faulty, steps are taken to improve it, often by installing extractors. Some large rooms are even ventilated on the Plenum System and air conditions are maintained suitable for both the workers and the product.

Entertainments.—Arrangements are made to provide entertainments for workers in a large number of factories through the Entertainments National Service Association (E.N.S.A.), the B.B.C. and the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art (C.E.M.A.) organizations. These entertainments are usually given by means of a concert party or band performance in the

factory canteen during the mid-day or midnight break. At a large number of engineering and building construction sites, entertainments are given in the evenings by means of a mobile cinema unit.

The first proposals for factory concerts were made by Dr. (now Sir) George Dyson early in January 1940. Later in the month, as a result of investigations at a particular factory, Sir Walford Davies made general recommendations on the type of music and musicians suitable for this new work and the conditions under which such concerts should be given. The first concert took place at mid-day on 22nd February 1940, at a Midlands Works Canteen. There were two artists, William Parsons (bass) and Hugh Fenn (accompanist). This concert was a success; the audience, genuinely interested, asked for more and, by the end of May 1940, twenty-five concerts were given within a 50-mile radius of London. Not only did all the factories visited ask for more, but applications began to come in from all parts of the country. The success of these experimental concerts led to the removal of the 50-mile limit and the launching of a full scheme of factory concerts for the whole country under the Directorship of Dr. Reginald Jacques, assisted by Miss Gladys Crook. Valuable advice and assistance were generously given by the Incorporated Society of Musicians and by the Industrial Welfare Society.

In June 1940, the organization of concerts in factories was left to the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and C.E.M.A. was asked to co-operate with E.N.S.A. in supplying parties for concerts, all general organization and routine arrangements to be left to E.N.S.A. The composition of factory concerts 'parties' has necessarily been influenced by financial considerations,

although the E.N.S.A. and the C.E.M.A. organizations are substantially subsidized by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. During the experimental period, Dr. Jacques took his String Orchestra augmented by woodwind and bass, to a number of factories, and was enthusiastically received. String trios and quartets have often been used with vocalist and pianist, but the normal factory 'party' of today consists of two singers and pianist, or singer, pianist and one other instrumentalist. At the present time there are on an average twenty parties per week touring factories in all parts of the country, giving short recitals of the finest music in canteens. These concerts have stimulated many forms of musical activity in the factories, from occasional gramophone recitals to a fully developed, independent and self-supporting scheme of lunch-hour concerts.

The success of the above welfare activities within the factory depends largely upon the collaboration between the employers and the workers. The Factory Inspectors impress upon the management that the handling of the operatives, and the provision of suitable working conditions for them are much more important than the factory or its machinery. The factory must not only have economic considerations, but must also see to the care and convenience of its operatives, because one-third of an operative's life is inside the plant. The provision of suitable comforts and amenities for the operatives within the factory is therefore rightly emphasised, and given utmost priority.

Industrial Welfare outside the Factory

Local Organization.—The local development of welfare work outside the factories is entrusted to a staff of well-experienced and qualified Welfare Officers stationed regionally and locally. A Regional Welfare

Officer has been appointed for each of the Department's eleven regions, and Local Welfare Officers have been appointed in certain areas where the need of war workers was found to be the greatest. To help these Officers, Welfare Advisory Panels consisting of the local representatives of voluntary and other representative organizations, have been set up in many places. The main duties of these Officers are: to try to secure for the workpeople—especially those who have been transferred from other areas to work of national importance—satisfactory accommodation through the appropriate authorities; and see that (a) there are satisfactory arrangements for them to get meals and other necessities, and to travel to and from their work; (b) there is suitable provision for recreation; and (c) provision is made, where required, for the young children of mothers working in the factories.

Co-operation with Voluntary Organizations.—In order that the experience and services of voluntary organizations interested in questions of welfare outside the factories may be utilized to the full, a Central Consultative Council representing these bodies has been established. This Council not only advises the Minister, but serves as a link with local voluntary organizations throughout the country.

National Service Hostels Corporation Limited.—This Corporation has been set up to manage hostels provided at government expense for war workers. The Board of Directors of the Corporation has been appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service. An Advisory Committee has also been appointed by the Minister to advise him in all matters relating to the work of the Corporation. The Advisory Committee is under the Chairmanship of the Additional Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour

and National Service, and its membership comprises a representative of employers and a representative of the trade unions, and a representative from each of the Departments mainly concerned with the hostels, namely the Admiralty, Ministry of Supply, Ministry of Aircraft Production, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and two from the Ministry of Labour and National Service, together with an additional woman member.

The average hostel is planned as a unit of about 1,000, where lodging is provided for both men and women. The members of the hostel staff from the Manager downwards do their best to make workpeople who stay as residents comfortable and happy. They even go to the extent of solving the private problems of the residents as far as possible. There are few and simple rules and regulations, but the idea behind them is to promote the comfort and well-being of the residents as a whole, and it is in the interest of all the residents to conform to them. The charges for lodging, meals and other services rendered by the hostels are very reasonable, and therefore they are very popular with the workpeople who take full advantage of the facilities available.

Billeting and Lodging.—Hostels for war workers have been set up only in areas where existing housing accommodation was clearly inadequate for the number of additional workpeople required. The vast majority of the factory workers transferred from their homes had to be accommodated in private digs and hostels. The task of providing this accommodation was a piece of essential war work, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. It must be said to the credit of the Welfare Officers of the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Labour and

National Service that they carried out this stupendous task of finding suitable lodgings for transferred workers cheerfully amidst trying circumstances and with utmost precision and promptitude. Only in a few exceptional cases was it considered necessary to approach the Billeting Officers for the exercise of compulsory billeting powers. Even where a compulsory billeting had been effected, steps were often taken later to convert it to a voluntary arrangement. In dealing with the various lodging difficulties which arise from time to time, the Welfare Officers always receive prompt and effective assistance from the Billeting Officers of the Local Authorities and the Regional Officers of the Ministry of Health.

Reception of Transferred Workers.—The Local Welfare Officers of the Ministry of Labour and National Service take considerable care to see that transferred workers are met on arrival at the station and are given all the necessary help and direction which they need. The main object is to see that transferred workers are not put to undue strain and inconvenience while they are settling down in their new and unaccustomed surroundings. Arrangements are made in some cases to accommodate the transferred workers in Clearing Hostels or temporary digs while efforts are being made to find permanent lodgings or billets according to individual requirements. At times it has been found necessary to provide refreshments for transferred workers on arrival late at night or after a very long journey; and if necessary, special transport is provided. Allowances of various kinds are given to workpeople placed in financial difficulty owing to transfer.

Transport.—During the war, difficulties of travelling between home or lodgings and work had increased considerably owing

especially to air raids, black-out, the erection of new factories and shift working. To meet the exigencies of this situation, train and bus services had to be altered, and consultations between factory managements, workpeople, transport authorities and others interested were provided for by Transport Consultative Committees set up by the Regional Transport Commissioners. Where a sufficient measure of staggering of factory hours could not be achieved on a purely voluntary basis, compulsory directions were issued by the Ministry of Labour and National Service on the recommendation of the Production Executive's Regional Board. One of the problems created by the erection of munition factories, aerodromes, etc., and the recruitment of labour for them over wide areas, was the need of waiting places and of queue control on new or expanded transport services. The provision of shelter at exposed bus stops and of better loading arrangements at the works and on the roads, was a matter of urgent importance during war-time, and the Ministry of Labour, the Supply Departments, and the Regional Transport Commissioner took the appropriate steps to secure the provision of covered waiting places, queue control and destination signs on the factory premises or the public highway, whichever was the more appropriate. The Regional Transport Commissioner rendered valuable assistance to the Welfare Department in providing transport for reception and daily travel purposes from outlying districts to the works and factories.

Feeding Arrangements.—With the speedy growth and development of new factories employing a large number of operatives, it was considered necessary that steps should be taken to ensure that industrial workers secure adequate meals. There is no doubt that it is of much

less benefit to a man to eat a cold dinner sitting by his machine in the shop where he had worked all the morning, than to eat a hot dinner in a comfortable canteen. Therefore, apart from requiring employers to set up canteens, arrangements are also made by the Ministry of Food through the agency of Local Authorities, to establish British Restaurants where a need for communal feeding exists. These British Restaurants have been set up in almost every town or city of industrial importance, and are at present serving a very useful purpose, although in a few instances they have had to be closed down owing to the lack of public support.

Care of Young Children of Women War Workers.—(a) *War-time Nurseries.* In certain areas it was considered necessary to recruit women into war industries, and therefore the Ministry of Labour and National Service had to make adequate arrangements for providing suitable war-time nurseries to nurse, feed and supervise the babies and young children of mothers engaged in war industries. Arrangements were made with the Board of Education and the Ministry of Health for the unification of the administration of war-time nursery provision. The Local Authorities are charged with the responsibility of making adequate nursery provision, and they receive from the Ministry of Health a cent per cent grant towards the establishment of such nurseries and the cost of running them. The charge to mothers in employment is, for whole-time day care including all meals—1/-; for care during school hours and a mid-day meal—6d.; for care during school hours and no meals—3d. While setting up these nurseries care is taken to see that they keep pace with future requirements as well as suffice for present needs. Admission to these nurseries is,

limited to children up to the age of five years. Children in the nurseries are properly trained and supervised by a qualified staff of trained nurses and teachers. The nursery, while working as an agency of child development, also performs the useful purpose of parental education. The nurse not only looks after the children in the nursery but instructs the mothers in nursing the child when sick, teaches them the rudiments of hygiene and also trains them in general domestic work.

(b) *Foster Care for Children*.—In cases where special provision for the care of young children was considered necessary, the women concerned were asked to make private arrangements with friends or relatives for the care of their children. Where this could not be done, a scheme of Registered Daily Guardians was operated. Under this scheme, any woman who wished her children under five years of age to be taken care of while she was working, could place them in the charge of a person registered by the Maternity and Child Welfare Authority for the purpose. She had complete freedom to choose any of the registered persons with whom she desired to place her children. If necessary, the Authority also helped in the selection of a suitable Guardian. The mother made her own arrangements as to the rate of payment to the Guardian, but the latter also received a weekly subsidy from the State.

(c) *Nursery Classes*.—The Local Educational Authorities were advised to make full use of the facilities available for nursery classes, and as a temporary war-time measure, the Board of Education raised no objection to the admission of children from the age of two years, where staffing and building conditions permitted. Most of the nursery classes were made to serve the same purpose as war-time nurseries by arranging for extended hours of

opening. It is hoped that nursery classes for children between two and six years will be established on a large scale, as this is the most important period of a child's life during which he forms and establishes his principal habits and attitudes. During this period the child gains control of his body, develops the beginning of his response to tone, rhythm, colour and form, and forms speech habits and acquires a vocabulary. It may be argued that the home is the natural place for a child of this age, but due to the shattered, broken and imperfect conditions of homes brought about by war-time conditions, the physical and mental development of the young innocent children can never be properly secured. It is, therefore, the duty of the State and the Local Authorities to give to the child full opportunities for wholesome living when the parents are not in a position to fulfill these obligations.

(d) *Play Centres*.—The special needs of children for their enjoyment and amusement have not been overlooked, and specially equipped children's play centres consisting of swings, see-saws, giant slides, ocean waves and merry-go-rounds have been set up. A shallow piece of water set apart for children for paddling and sailing of boats gives a good deal of pleasure; so do sand pits and donkey rides. Children's sports are a great attraction to children and their mothers, and sailing competitions on ponds attract persons of all ages. The Ministry of Labour and National Service gives cent per cent grant to the Local Education Authorities for approved expenditure on the establishment of Play Centres for children outside school hours. Voluntary helpers are recruited to assist in the organization of these Play Centres.

Shopping Arrangements for Women Workers.—The Shopping problems of industrial workers, particularly married women,

are solved as far as possible by the Local Welfare Officers by calling meetings of representatives of all the interests concerned in any area where difficulties arise. The Divisional Food Officers co-operate with the Local Welfare Officers in arranging these meetings. Among the organizations which are invited to these local meetings are the Food Control Committees, the Retail Trade Associations, and other Shopkeepers, Employers' Organizations, the Shop Assistants' Unions and the Consumers' Organizations. They give their full co-operation to the Welfare Staff and make valuable and constructive suggestions for the solution of the local shopping problems of working housewives. In a majority of cases, orders for articles required by each woman worker were placed in advance with the shopkeepers, and articles were kept ready and well packed to be taken away merely by calling at the shops instead of queuing and waiting for them for long hours. In some cases, arrangements were made with the employers to release the women worker for an hour or so for shopping purposes during working hours.

Nursing of Transferred Workers.—The Welfare of workers living away from home and falling sick in private lodgings in billets had become increasingly important because of the considerable numbers of women and young persons transferred to work in other localities. Employers were, therefore, asked by the Ministry of Labour and National Service to ensure that workers who fall sick are fully aware of the facilities available for their care and treatment, and that the worker's relatives are communicated with in case of serious illness or special emergency.

The facilities for medical care and treatment are as follows :—

- (i) All transferred workers are asked by the Employment

Exchange to put their name down at once with a panel doctor as soon as they arrive in the new town, and a list of panel doctors is kept at the Exchange. They are also advised, if they are subscribers at home to friendly societies, doctors' clubs and other organizations, to see the Secretary before they go and to arrange for contributions to be continued, or their membership to be transferred to the branch in the town to which they go.

- (ii) Arrangements are also made through the Ministry of Health by which transferred workers in lodgings or billets can call in the District Nurse. They are not required to make any payment for the services of the District Nurse, although they are at liberty to make any contributions they like towards the expenses of the Nursing Association.
- (iii) If workers cannot be looked after in their lodgings, their doctor can arrange for them to be admitted to one of the hospitals established under the Emergency Hospitals Scheme, even if the illness is such as would not in normal circumstances require treatment in hospital. In case they are unable to meet the cost of hospital treatment, the cost is borne by the Government, although the assessment of the patient's ability to pay is made by the hospital in the usual way. Due account is taken of any payments which the patient has

to continue to make for the retention of lodgings.

- (iv) In case of any difficulty, reference can be made to the Local Welfare Officer of the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Recreation.—It was found that in many places to which workers were transferred to do important war work there was inadequate provision for spending their leisure hours in a useful and wholesome manner. With feeding and housing as the foundation and ground work, and with an understanding management as an essential part of the structure, it only needed good entertainment and recreation for a healthy community life. The Welfare Department helps considerably in the establishment of clubs, social centres and recreational activities in areas where these facilities were not accessible to the workers. Several voluntary organizations have actively given their whole-hearted co-operation in the development of this type of work and grants are made by the Ministry of Labour and National Service to assist approved recreational schemes.

The Ministry of Labour has always had the expert advice and general assistance of the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training which organizes "Fitness for Service" and other outdoor and indoor schemes for factory, club or other groups of workers. The Council is representative of 130 national bodies, including all the major youth organizations and governing bodies of games, sports and outdoor activities. It receives grants-in-aid from both the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and works also on behalf of the Home Office. Its aim is to assist all those concerned with the provision of physical recreation for the post-school population, and its staff work in the closest possible co-operation with

local education authorities. The services of the Council's Headquarter Staff, and of the Technical Representatives stationed in various parts of the country, are available to all local education authorities, youth organizations, including pre-service units, and industrial concerns.

During the war it was difficult to obtain the supply of equipment for indoor and outdoor games and sports, owing to restricted supplies, and the Welfare Officers and Factory Inspectors assisted in such cases by the issue of buying certificates and by allocating a share from available quota.

Theatrical performances, musical concerts, art exhibitions and other forms of entertainment, were arranged under the auspices of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts (C.E.M.A.) and the Entertainment National Service Association (E.N.S.A.)

Under an arrangement with the British Broadcasting Corporation, the audiences at a great number of variety and other broadcast entertainments have been composed of war workers, and several series of workers' playtime broadcasts have been recorded at the factories.

Camps and Holiday Centres for War Workers.—It was impressed upon the workers and the employers that holidays can only be justified if those who take them return fitter than before for their war jobs. As all unessential travel, whether by rail or by road, had to be avoided, the great majority of holiday makers were required to spend their holidays at home. The public authorities and voluntary organizations were, therefore, asked to collaborate in the task of organizing "recreational and other attractions near home." Many holiday camps and centres were set up for providing holiday-makers with fresh air, rest, recreation and companionship. Games and expeditions were

arranged at these centres, when necessary, and facilities were available for swimming, indoor and outdoor recreation, punting, boating, concerts, dancing, exhibitions, pageants, bands, displays, parades, lectures, debates and discussions, etc.

Managements of industrial and other undertakings were urged to plan holiday arrangements in consultation with their workpeople's representatives. They were also asked to consider the extent to which holidays can be "staggered" as between individuals or establishments.

Special Provision for Young Persons.—Advantage has been taken of the existing organizations of the National Youth Committee and the Local Youth Committees associated with it in providing for the special needs of young persons, and the care of all matters in connection with problems of youth has been placed in their hands. The Local Welfare Officers have found Local Youth Committees useful in enabling young transferred workers to adjust themselves to new environments. These Committees help in the organization of Youth Weeks, Youth Exhibitions, Youth Rallies, and in the solution of all difficult and complicated problems of young persons.

General.—Case work is done from time to time by the Welfare Officers and cases referred for enquiry by the National Service Officer are investigated promptly and satisfactorily. As far as possible, case work is handled by a qualified Senior Welfare Officer and, therefore, a high level of efficiency is maintained in all interviews, enquiries, investigations, and reports. Co-operation between Local Welfare Officers and various voluntary organizations has been of assistance to an increasing number of workers troubled by mental and moral difficulties. Sometimes the Local Welfare Officers compile

calendars of forthcoming social and public events which appear to meet a local need.

Arrangements for the reception, lodging and transport of alien and colonial nationals have been made by the Welfare Officers and care is taken to see that they are well placed and properly looked after. Visits to factories and industrial establishments are arranged for them in accordance with their requirements. Assistance is frequently given to the Hospital Almoners in the case of sick workers and their resettlement problems.

The Regional Welfare Officers often preside over meetings of Welfare Supervisors and Personnel Managers at which useful discussions are held on topical subjects like "Works Welfare Committee," "Absenteeism," "Rehabilitation," "Rest-Breaks" schemes, etc. They look after the arrangements made for the welfare of Nursing and Domestic Staff in Hospitals and Allied Institutions, and are further entrusted with Seamen's Welfare Work in a supervisory capacity.

Much of the success of the above activities organized and conducted by the Welfare Officers in their respective regions is due to their deep interest in welfare work. It has by no means been an easy task, because the work of a Welfare Officer requires a knowledge of local government and social services, friendly contacts with officials of government departments, local authorities, employers, trade unions, voluntary organizations, and not the least, some understanding of government rules and regulations and procedure. The Welfare Officers have still a great duty to perform, and if they go forward, as at present, as one united team, they will be able to carry out their function in a way that will bring credit and renown to the Welfare Department, and lasting benefit to the working class people of the United Kingdom.

MENTAL DISORDER IN INDIA—A REVIEW AND A PROSPECT.

M. V. GOVINDASWAMY

Interest in the problems associated with mental disorder is growing in India. This review gives a brief account of progress in psychological medicine achieved in the country since 1938 and makes certain suggestions for its development in the future.

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This review attempts to give a brief account of progress in psychological medicine in India since 1938. During this period there has been an increasing interest in the problems associated with mental disorder on the part of the physician, the educationist, the layman, and the administrator alike. The war has brought in its train special neuro-psychiatric problems of its own, and the solution of some of these problems has afforded considerable insight into the understanding and treatment of mental patients.

Psychological medicine, a much more illuminating term than psychiatry, has within the last few years developed from a mere description of asylum cases into a living subject, with ramifications into all fields of human endeavour, including the social problems of everyday life. Social planning and social medicine are to a large extent dependent on psychiatry for guidance. Positive mental health can be usefully defined as "Discriminative self-restraint, associated with consideration for others." And the aim of social medicine is the fostering and development of such positive mental health.

"The care of the human mind is the most noble branch of medicine"—so wrote the great Dutch humanist, Grotius, in the first half of the seventeenth century. Centuries before Grotius, the ancient sages of India had stated it categorically and had also given elaborate directions as to how to achieve mental stability and poise. They showed that, in the ultimate

analysis, selfishness on the psychological side, and starvation on the physical were responsible for disorganization in the individual and society alike. This fact stands as true to-day as when it was enunciated centuries ago, and forms the pivot round which psychiatry revolves.

During the period under review there has been a great awakening in India, in Psychiatry as in the other branches of medicine. This awakening has destroyed smug-complacency and callous indifference to the fate of mental patients. People have begun to realize that psychiatry is an important branch of medicine, that the lunatic asylum has evolved into the modern mental hospital, and that the insane individual who used to be put away for safe-keeping has been transformed into a patient undergoing systematic scientific treatment.

But compared to the progress made in America and England, India has a long distance yet to travel. The rate of advance can be accelerated and India also can make a special contribution towards the solution of psychiatric problems in general and of her own in particular. The purpose of the present article can best be served by considering briefly (a) the general advances in psychiatry in England and in America and their influence on psychiatry in India, (b) special contributions from India itself, and (c) the advances in psychiatry due to war.

Incidence of Mental Disorder in India.—We ought to begin our discussion of the

progress of psychiatry in India by considering the incidence of mental disorder in the country. But, unfortunately, no reliable statistics bearing on this matter are available. Neither the admission rates nor the number of beds occupied in mental hospitals can be considered reliable indices of the actual number of patients suffering from mental disorder in the areas served by these hospitals for the following reasons :—(a) The majority of the institutions are meant only for custodial care of patients and have hardly any modern facilities for their treatment ; so only the violent and dangerous patients and destitutes are admitted there. (b) Except in the case of a few hospitals, voluntary admission of patients is unknown, and the relatives of patients coming from respectable families are averse to the publicity associated with the issue of a reception order by magistrates. (c) Illiteracy and ignorance, and the superstitious belief, that mental disorder is due to demonical possession, prevent many patients from being brought for medical advice. It must also be admitted that, besides the lack of a sufficient number of qualified mental specialists, very few medical men have any basic scientific knowledge of mental disorder. (d) Lack of transport prevents patients from the villages and the interior being brought to the few hospitals that exist. (e) The exploitation of the gullible public by quacks of all descriptions is another major factor in preventing the patients seeking admissions to state institutions. Hence, it is not possible to have correct figures for the incidence of mental disorder in this country in the ordinary way. But a reliable approximation sufficient for the purposes of this review could be obtained in a slightly different manner.

It has been reliably estimated that in America, where seven thousand children

are born every day, about two hundred and seventy of them, or 1 in 26, eventually become incapacitated by abnormalities of the mind. In England, the figure is roughly about 1 in 30. In India, with the greater prevalence of chronic under-nutrition, tropical fevers and anaemias, one would expect that the figure would be greater. It would be, if most of the children born survived. But the same illnesses which would act as pre-disposing factors of mental disease if the children survived also tend to increase their mortality. Hence, because of this increased rate of infantile mortality, the figure for mental morbidity would be not 1 in 30, but perhaps much less. Even with an estimate of 1 in 100, the number would run into millions.

Besides infantile mortality, the longevity and expectation of life of individuals has also a bearing on the incidence of mental disorder. In France, with a low birth-rate, the period before the war saw an ever-increasing population of old people. In America, with expectation of life upto sixty, the number of old people is steadily increasing. Because of this increase in the number of the aged, a new speciality of medicine—Geriatrics (Medicine of Old Age), as contrasted with Pediatrics, has become a necessity. And old age has its own peculiar mental problems.

Mental disorder in the old is associated with degeneration of the brain, of blood vessels, of endocrine glands, and is variously described amongst senile dementias, cerebral sclerosis, and general paralysis of the insane. Their incidence is certainly greater in countries where there is a larger number of elderly people. In India where the expectancy of life is very much less than in other countries (about twenty-six), one would expect a lesser number of old people and a corresponding decrease in the incidence of dementias. This is true in

general, but the following facts should be kept in mind :—

1. Due to inclement conditions of life in the tropics, people grow old prematurely. That is, the chronologically young are biologically old. And since the dementias are biologically, and not chronologically, determined, senility and senile psychoses can be common in the young, which is often the case. 2. There is also another interesting feature in India. We frequently come across very old people. So, although many die early, those who live, live to a ripe old age, and senile illnesses are quite common among them.

Hence, for reasons mentioned in the above paragraphs, and in spite of the fact that reliable statistics are not available, there is no reason to believe that the incidence of mental disorder in India is in any way less than either in America or in England, although the types of reactions may be statistically different. Even if we take the ratio for mental patients at 2 per 1000 of the population, as contrasted with 5 to 8 per 1000 in America and 3.5 per 1000 in England, the number of patients who require hospital accommodation would be a million. This does not take into account the large number of mental defectives who need special colonies and educational care, and psycho-neurotics who need both medical and psychological treatment.

Accommodation for Patients in India.—In spite of this large number of mental patients, provision for their accommodation is extremely unsatisfactory in India. The investment on mental hospitals in America is a billion dollars, and the annual admission rate into public institutions, where there are already resident half a million patients, is 170,000. Let us compare it with the position in this country. The figures are in no way less. Including mental

defectives and psychotics, and excluding psycho-neurotics, accommodation is necessary in India for at least two million patients; and if we also include the psycho-neurotics, the figure may reach six million. The total number of beds available, however, is less than ten thousand. There are hardly twenty public institutions out of which perhaps not more than half a dozen can really be considered to be mental hospitals. The institutions at Ranchi, Poona, Madras and Bangalore fall into that category. There is no provision anywhere for mental defectives, neither educational facilities nor the semi-agricultural and semi-industrial colonies required for their care. A beginning has, however, been made in this direction in Bangalore by the Mysore Government to provide a home for incurable, harmless and senile psychotics, including mental defectives.

General Causative Factors with Special Reference to Indian Conditions.—Mental diseases, like other illnesses, depend for their development and symptomatology on the inter-reaction of the following groups of factors :—

1. Innate constitutional tendencies or hereditary factors.
2. Factors dependent on sex (male or female), age, and epochs in life.
3. Emotional stresses and strains, early and remote.
4. Gross physical influences.

The importance of all these factors in the etiology of mental and nervous illnesses is not very different in India from what it is in Europe or America, but the organic factors need special mention.

Chronic under-nutrition and malnutrition, tropical fevers and tropical anaemias, frequent childbirths in women unfit for mother-hood are responsible for a larger

number of mental break-downs in this country than in England or America. The many varieties of tropical fevers and tropical anaemias responsible for such illnesses are but little understood. Chronic mal-nutrition is often the single significant factor in the etiology of all psychoses and psycho-neuroses in this country, this mal-nutrition being both qualitative and quantitative. Lack of proteins and essential amino-acids is perhaps the most important deficiency.

It has been the experience of the Mental Hospital in Bangalore that the majority of patients admitted show signs and symptoms directly attributable to mal-nutrition. Confusion, restlessness, disconnexions of varying degree on the psychiatric side, and dehydration, exhaustion, liver-dysfunction and mottled unhealthy skin on the physical side are common symptoms. Unless these symptoms are cleared up by intensive administration of fluids, salines and protein hydrolysates, it is not easy to diagnose the underlying psychotic conditions. This also explains in part the dangers of insulin shock to Indian patients.

Cultural, Sociological and Ecological Determinants of Mental Disorder in India.—In India, unlike America, there are hardly any important sociological determinants of mental disorder. The only sociological problem presented is by the Anglo-Indian community, but the thoughtful members of that group are urging the necessity of raising the standard of education in their community and of educating their members to realise that their home is in India, and so any psychological problems presented by them are only temporary and need not be stressed.

In this connection, one would like to recall the work of Seligmann on the extrovert and introvert nucleus in racial

cultures. Explanations have also been offered on a cultural and racial basis for the preponderance of neural syphilis in the Negro and the German, of mental defect in the Italian, of alcoholic psychosis amongst the Irish, of peculiar and complicated nervous diseases amongst the Jews and, on the other hand, for the rarity of delusional insanity in the Chinese and Japanese. But the facts on which such statements are based are often purely conjectural. For example, in Maudesley Hospital, London, depressions were the common psychotic pictures amongst the admissions, and as a contrast, in India, excitement and elations are commonest. But their incidence can be easily explained by tropical and economic factors rather than as being due to any racial or cultural differences.

In India, where there have been no rapidly changing communities and where the historical and anthropological development has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary, there can be no cultural determinants of mental disorder. Belief in God, the development of a personal philosophy of life, a very well-organized and even unitary family system and early marriages are common to all communities and afford an effective security against mental break-down.

On the other hand, the ecological order, which emerges from the process of competition, is an important determinant of mental disorder. In India, what is interesting from the ecological point of view is the problem of industrialization and urbanisation as it affects the incidence of mental disorder. No scientific work has so far been attempted in this direction, but the work of Faris and Dunham in Chicago is suggestive. Their conclusions in general can be considered applicable to conditions in India also.

India is predominantly an agricultural country and mass-migrations are rare. It has been only during the last few years, on account of the war, when factories have sprung up all over the country, that migrations from villages to industrial cities and factory-areas have been common. In such cases it has often been noted that a mentally backward individual, who got on comfortably by herding and looking after a few sheep and goats in a village, felt unequal, after going into the city, to its competitive stress and broke down.

A fact noted in the study of all such industrial areas is the increase in juvenile delinquency, of organized vice, burglary, and larceny. Suicide rates there are also high, since suicide clusters around a failure or frustration, or a sense of isolation or desertion. These are problems of importance in cities like Calcutta and Bombay, and must be considered in making provision for patients in mental hospitals, since about a third of the suicides show signs of mental disorder and about an equal proportion are also addicted to alcohol.

Psychiatric Diagnosis and Therapy.—It must be remembered that, in spite of many advances, we are still at the descriptive level in psychological medicine. The various types of reactions designated as mental disorders are comparable to syndromes in general medicine. They are not diseases in the sense that their etiology, pathology, clinical course and treatment have been clearly understood. This difficulty in psychiatry arises from the fact that, unlike in general medicine, the factors responsible for psychoses are multiple, and from the fact that the same group of stimuli can produce different types of reaction in different individuals. While undoubtedly psychological stresses can produce mental illness, the bio-chemical factors are equal in importance. Hereditary factors,

however, though important, are over-rated, and the salutary effects of training and environment are not sufficiently appreciated.

While discussing the importance of psychological stresses in the development of mental disorders, it has not been sufficiently stressed that there is usually a period after such a shock, which corresponds to the incubation period in infectious diseases, and which must elapse before the mental illness becomes manifest. If this factor is overlooked, other factors are given undue prominence. Another bewildering element in psychological medicine is the simultaneous presence in a mental patient of two varieties of reaction, one of which might be termed cortical and the other nuclear. Investigations of these problems in India are a matter of urgency.

Dramatic success attained by methods of physical treatment, such as those effected by chemically induced convulsions, and by surgical division of white matter of the frontal lobes, have been triumphs of empiricism. As Henderson and Gillespie express it, they seem to be often based on reasoning that paradoxically appears the more faulty, the more their practical successes are examined. Before arriving at a diagnosis one should take into account all factors; the diagnosis should not be merely cross-sectional but longitudinal also. No method of investigation, psychological, physical, pathological or bio-chemical, should be neglected. The physical factor in India, statistically speaking, is perhaps more important than the purely psychological.

Hence, the mental hospitals in India, unlike in other countries, should approximate more to general hospitals, with of course suitable provision for disturbed

patients. In the progressive institutions in India this fact has been kept in mind.

Insulin and Cardiozal Shock is practised in all mental hospitals in India, Electrical Convulsion Therapy in Madras and Poona besides. In Bangalore, pre-frontal leucotomy, and Narco-analysis by the use of Sodium Pentothal have been additional methods of treatment. Within the last two years, leucotomy has been performed on eighty patients, and twenty-four of them have gone back to their usual avocations, and at least thirty others have become more manageable.

Psychiatric Research.—(A). *Bio-chemical*: In mental hospitals in India, bio-chemical research is a matter of some urgency. The problems of water metabolism in mental patients of adrenal and liver functions, and determination of renal clearance tests with inulin, a polymer of Fructose need study.

Both as problems for research and therapy, administration of amino acids and protein hydrolysates claim attention. In collaboration with general physicians, the various ill-understood tropical fevers, tropical anaemias, and intestinal disorders, in their relation to mental illness, also need investigation. Considerable work in this direction is being done by the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine.

(B) *Psycho-Therapy.*—The world owes a debt of gratitude to Freud for demonstrating that :—

- (i) Mental illness can be caused by purely situational or psychological factors.
- (ii) Symptom formation in such illnesses is not always due to conscious processes.
- (iii) Speech and language can be powerful therapeutic aids.

But his followers have not been so scientific and exploitation of the gullible public in the name of psycho-analysis is not rare. It has not also been sufficiently recognised that a different and equally valuable approach to the problems of personality and personality disorders can be had from Indian Psychology. The Upanishads (Svetasvatara, Brihadaranyaka, Mandukya, to name a few important ones for our purposes), and the Vedantic commentaries by Shankara and Goudapada, if divested of their spiritual and mystic investments and considered in an objective manner, can furnish an illuminating insight into the problems of psychiatry.

(C) *Functions of the Brain.*—The study of the functions of the brain is confronted by a problem that is unique and of great difficulty. In every other tissue and organ, function and metabolism can be correlated. The brain, silent and motionless, traffics with the imponderable. (Fearon.) Structurally speaking there is no difference between the brain of a genius and that of an average man. And bio-chemically, slices of both their brains utilise the same amount of oxygen, glucose and other chemicals.

In the case of other tissues, intensity of function will be in proportion to energy produced or heat liberated, as in the case of muscles, or will be in proportion to the osmotic pressure, generated as in the case of the kidney or the other glands.

But that is not so in the case of the brain. There is no known physical method of gauging its functions; psychological methods are unsatisfactory, and fundamental work is required. There is some hope that methods available for measuring oxidation—reduction potentials, now being used for purposes of determining tissue respiration, may throw some light on the subject. The development of more complicated forms of life, with an organized

and complicated nervous system, becomes possible only after Nature discovered oxidation by molecular oxygen. This course of events is still reflected in our selves in which we find oxidation and fermentation intimately mixed and woven into one energy producing system (Szent—Gyorgyi).

Electro-encephalography has so far thrown no light on problems of mental functioning, either normal or abnormal. It is possible, however, that with improvement in technique, basic facts might become more understandable. Such an investigation will mean a great future for Indian Psychiatry.

Psychiatric Education.—In many of the medical colleges in India a few lecture demonstrations on chronic asylum cases form part the of curricula of final year medical students. To hospitals, like those in Ranchi and Bangalore, medical officers are occasionally deputed for psychiatric training. But systematic clinical and theoretical training is nowhere given. Due to the lack of an adequate number of well-qualified mental specialists, formal training, for purposes of examinations of the standard of the D.P.M., or M.D., is out of the question at present.

But that need not deter the Universities, especially those in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Mysore, from starting regular training in Psychiatry, and securing exemption for their students from a portion of the course for the M.D. or D.P.M. Advanced courses might be instituted when facilities become available.

Psychiatry with its subsidiary branches is a wide and difficult subject and a sound knowledge of it cannot be gained by a six months' appointment in a mental hospital or with the possession of a Diploma in Psychological Medicine. The training of a psychiatrist cannot be adequate in

a period of less than ten years after qualification. It is for this reason that the London University in conjunction with the Royal Colleges is contemplating a course of training extending over a period of five years for those who intend practising as consultant mental specialists. The development of out-patient clinics combined with the general hospitals, under the control of a competent psychiatrist, is essential to progress. An institute of applied psychology including some aspects of psychiatry would be a great asset, and its immediate institution in India has been recommended to the Central Government by the Indian Science Congress, which lately finished its sessions in Bangalore. The inclusion of a paper each in Bio-chemistry, Cultural Anthropology, and the Fundamentals of Indian Psychology for the Specialists, Examination has also to be considered.

The future of psychiatry is very bright, but there is a great deal of concentrated hard work and research required. (Fleming)

Law in Relation to Psychiatry.—There are many mental hospitals in India in which the voluntary system of admission of patients is not permitted. There are several others in which there is not even a Board of Visitors and abuses in consequence are not uncommon.

The whole of the machinery of law in relation to the responsibilities of mental patients needs revision. As matters stand, law takes cognisance of only 'unsoundness of mind'—a very vague term capable of several interpretations. Changes in the law relating to the testamentary capacity of mental patients, the removal of the word 'lunatic' from legal terminology are a few changes needing immediate attention.

Where children are concerned, juvenile courts, and institutions of the type of Judge Baker's Foundation, in Boston,

are urgently needed. A useful beginning, however, in this direction has been made in Bombay.

Provision for Mental Nurses.—Mental nursing in India is extremely unsatisfactory. The necessity for nurses in mental hospitals has now become clearly recognised and in that sense there has been progress. In some mental hospitals in India, both women and men nurses are on the staff, and women nurses have been working in disturbed male wards with excellent results. Male nurses, although a regrettable necessity, can in no way be compared to women nurses in the service they can render in a mental hospital.

Prevention and Prophylaxis.—This world is a world of inequality and difference, and in such a competitive world misery and suffering, infections and illnesses are inevitable, and mental disorders will continue to exist. But some varieties, such as those due to syphilis of the nervous system, avitaminoses, cerebral sclerosis can be controlled and prevented by suitable prophylaxis. With proper advice and care, incidence of the purely psycho-somatic illnesses like asthma, gastric and duodenal ulcers, skin diseases and hypertension could be made less. In any case, the life of mental patients could be made more comfortable, by educational and medical preventive measures. Eugenic measures, like proper selection of mates and sterilisation of the unfit, are fraught with possibilities of abuse and should never be made compulsory. I am mentioning this because in India, lately, there have been indications of an uncritical enthusiasm for such measures.

Administration.—The most noteworthy feature in recent years in medical administration in India has been the appointment of the Health Survey and Development Committee presided over by Sir Jospeh Bhore. The report of the committee is bound to be a historic document of great value in Social Medicine in India. If only a few at least of their recommendations, regarding the starting of new mental hospitals and the training of specialists, is given effect to by the authorities concerned, it would mean great progress in psychiatry in India.

Conclusion.—It might be pertinently asked whether it would be worthwhile spending much money on mental hospitals and mental patients, when the general impression in the mind of the public is that mental patients are incurable. It is a totally wrong impression. With the recent advances in psychiatry, the chances of recovery of mental patients are far more than the chances of recovery of patients suffering from any other illnesses and can reach upto 40%. And in India, with the prominent organic back-ground in many mental breakdowns, the position is much more optimistic than in other countries.

The war has taught us many lessons in the understanding, prevention, and treatment of psychological breakdowns. Military neuro-psychiatry is a record of self-less devotion and of sturdy optimism of medical men, nurses and combatants alike. The discipline and aim of psychiatry has been summed up in the well known Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, "From non-being lead us into being, from darkness lead us into light, from death lead us into deathlessness."

MINIMUM WAGE FOR LABOUR IN TEA PLANTATIONS

SUDHENDU NARAYAN MUKHOPADHYAY

If there is a case for the minimum wage in India, it is the strongest, the author contends, for labourers in the tea plantations. The existing wage rates are extremely low and the total absence of any organization of labour makes bargaining for higher wages by the labourers impossible. The author, therefore, suggests the adoption of a basic rate and shows the advantage that would accrue therefrom.

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In India the establishment of a legal minimum wage is long overdue especially in the "Sweated Trades," like tea plantations, where thousands of men, women and children work on exceedingly low wage rates*. Both Ceylon and Malaya had their minimum wage regulations in plantations before the war and in the West Indies, a Royal Commission, six years back, recommended the establishment of Statutory Wage Boards in the plantations before the industries could obtain any assistance granted to them by the State. In India also a minimum wage policy should be evolved. The guarantee of a minimum living wage to every worker is the major solution of the labour problem. An active assistance to labour to take its rightful place in the country's industrial structure will not undermine the capitalistic structure of the industrial system ; it will, on the contrary, strengthen the economic framework of the country.

Recognition by the Employers.—It is a happy omen that the need for revision of the wage policy is now being recognised by employers whose organized resistance has up till now proved insurmountable for any State interference in this regard. Without the active sympathy and willing

co-operation of the employers, the wage system in the gardens cannot be rationalised. Presiding over the Annual meeting of the Terai Planters' Association, held on the 19th January 1943, Mr. C. W. Cox, the Chairman, has rightly observed : "The world has spent and is spending millions daily on destruction ; let us spend millions and raise the standard of living everywhere. It is only by so doing that we can raise a real barrier to future wars.....The Government at the start did magnificently, but it now looks as though it is so pleased with itself that only a disaster of the first magnitude will shake it out of its self-complacency." An enactment by the Central Government enforcing minimum rates for tea plantation labour is a step that brooks no further delay. For this purpose we have attempted to determine a minimum on the basis of the requirements of an average worker's family. With the aid of the materials now available, only a flat rate could be worked out, though margins should exist for various kinds of skills together with allowance for disagreeable, dirty or dangerous work. Lack of statistics prevents any detailed examination of the principles on which margins for skills may be calculated.

*The Act I of 1882, fixed a minimum monthly rate of wages, Rs. 5/- for men and Rs. 4/- for women for the first three years and Rs. 6/- for men and Rs. 5/- for women for the remaining two years of the contract. This was subsequently revised.

In the Act VI of 1901 provisions were made for a minimum of monthly wages contingent on the completion of the daily task. Wages were fixed as follows :—

							Men		Women
1st year	...	...	...	...	...	Rs.	5 0 0	Rs.	4 0 0
2nd and 3rd year	...	...	...	...	...		5 8 0		4 8 0
4th year	...	...	...	...	...		6 0 0		5 0 0

The Act VI of 1901 has been abolished and there is no statutory minimum wage in operation.

Our approach to the minimum wages for tea plantation labour has been from the point of view of social security as well as industrial equilibrium. As a criterion of wage regulation the principle of the minimum wage is no more than a vague and general indication of the purpose of legislation. We have therefore laid down here certain norms of food requirements according to physiological research and also according to the standard for other elements of human consumption and welfare. We will assess the cost of the requirements of approximately the true average family or domestic unit at the average standard of minimum wage earners.

Physiological Requirements.—Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, maintains that about 2,600 calories should be the minimum daily intake by an adult worker in India. For the male of sedentary occupation he prescribed 2130 calories. To this he added 470 calories more for labourers, taking six hours to be their normal period of work.

Professor R. K. Mukherjee does not accept this standard, as “that would involve severe bodily exhaustion and decline of the power of resistance which will contribute towards industrial inefficiency, greater absenteeism and prevalence of disease and mortality. (Indian Working Class manuscript). In India the working period in factories extends over an average of 8 to 9 hours and at least 900 calories (according to the schedule of supplementary calories, necessary for muscular activity as fixed by the Expert Commission of the League of Nations) should have been added.

Dr. W. Burridge and Prof. Mukherjee in the Physiological Laboratory at King

George's Medical College, Lucknow, have demonstrated that 1,200 to 1,400 calories represent the resting need of Indian peasants and workers, as compared with 1,600 to 1,800 calories in U.S. and 1,700 calories for British workers. Now the Food Committee of the Royal Society have as a result of experiments and experiences estimated that for moderate work 700—1,100 calories, and for heavy work 1,100—2,000 calories, are required in excess of resting need due to the increase of metabolism. “Thus our dietetic norm for Indian industrial workers.....is the minimum daily intake of 3,000—3,400 calories. This may safely be taken as an absolute minimum for the ‘Living Wage Standard’ in India (Indian Working Class, ms. by Prof. R. K. Mukherjee).

Dietetic Norms for an adult worker in India :—

Calories	... 3,000
Protein	... 85 grams.
Fats	... 60 grams.
Carbohydrates	... 605 grams.
Calcium	... 0.65 grams.
Phosphorous	1.32 grams.
Iron	... 15 milligrams.
Vitamin A	... 6,000 (International Units)
Vitamin B	... 2 milligrams.
Vitamin C	... 60 milligrams.
Mebafavin	... 1 milligram.

In respect of the standard of nutrition, the following has been suggested for workers of different regions of India, as determined by their rice and wheat consumption* :

*Food for Four Hundred Million by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee, page 171.

	Rice		Wheat		Pulses		Total calories for all articles of diet.
	Quantity	Calories	Quantity	Calories	Quantity	Calories	
	Ch.		Ch.		Ch.		
Bengali worker ...	9.9	2,079	1.2	238	1.2	235	3,048
C.P. Worker ...	12.7	2,667	2.3	455	2.6	510	3,928
Madras Worker ...	10.3	2,163	.22	44	1.2	235	2,737
U.P. Worker ...	7.1	1,491	4.2	792	2.1	392	3,038
Bihari Worker ...	5.1	1,071	3.7	733	1.5	294	2,450

In the light of the above mentioned data the standard dietary for an adult worker can be formulated as below :—

Cereal :	Standard daily consumption	Cost per month prewar price.	
		Rs. a. p.	
Rice or Wheat and Bajra ...	12 chhataks	1 6 0	
Pulses :			
Gram and Dal ...	2 chhataks	0 6 0	
Oil ...	1½ tola	0 7 6	
Salt ...	...	0 1 0	
Spices ...	...	0 1 6	
'Chura' ...	1 chhatak	0 6 0	
'Gur' ...	1 chhatak	0 4 0	
Fish or meat ...	1 chhatak	0 12 0	
Vegetables & Fruits	2 chhataks	0 8 0	
		4 4 0	

The average coolie-family in the tea garden has been estimated as consisting of 4.06 members. The average number of

men, women and children in each family is 1.16, .97, 1.7 respectively ; of non-working dependent per family is .23. Mr. Lusk's co-efficients of comparison of the food requirements of women and children with those of an average man to the average family structure should be applied in calculating the cost of the standard dietary for a family of 4.06 members.

Lusk's Table of Food Requirements:—

Child (0—15 years)	0.7
Adult Male (15 and upwards)	1.0
Adult Female (15 and upwards)	0.83

The Cost of Standard Dietary.—The average coolie-family when converted to consumption units will stand at 3.12. The cost of standard dietary for a family of 3.12 consumption units would work out at 3.12, Rs. 4/4/- or Rs. 13/5/-. To this we should add Rs. 2/-, the expenditure for a normal family of four on milk and ghee.

The total therefore will be Rs. 15/5/-. The following table provides a comparison of our norm with the dietary norms of the labourer's family set up at other industrial centres :—

	Cost of Dietary.		Family Size.	
	Rs. a. p.			
U.P. Working Class (Prof. R. K. Mukherjee M. S. Indian Working Class)	... 14	4 8	4.80	
Bombay (Textile Labour, Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee)	... 22	8 0	4.80	
Mr. Erulkar's Estimate (Non-vegetarian norm).	29	5 0	4.0	
Tea Plantation Labour in Assam and Bengal	... 15	5 0	4.06	

The food requirements in plantations are generally higher. The coolies suffer bodily exhaustion during the days of hard work, the rigours of the foreign climate tell upon their physique and only an adequate supply of nutritious food can replenish the system and build up a healthy body.

Clothing Requirements.—The next important item is clothing. In no part of the industrial world in India, do men and women go about with such scanty clothing as they do in Assam and the Dooars. Among the coolies, who are mostly aboriginal, men use hardly a loin cloth, and women use two pieces of cloth measuring not more than 8 sq. yds. They rarely possess a spare pair to change into when clothes become wet during work in the rains. It should also be remembered that winter is longer and more severe in Assam than in the areas whence most of the coolies are recruited. Even the children cannot be provided adequate clothing to keep themselves warm. Moreover, molestation of coolie girls by managers, garden staff

or sardars is sometimes caused by their scanty clothing. In order to protect the coolies from diseases like hookworm, dysentery, etc., the introduction of some sort of footwear is necessary. Scarcely any labourer coming from Chota Nagpur uses a pillow. A cot or "charpai" and mosquito curtains are indispensable in a damp and malarial region like Assam, but these are not available for 80% of the coolies. In some gardens the manager or the garden authority insists on the use of mosquito curtains. But advice or admonition cannot be of any avail due to the low earnings of the average coolie. In a large number of gardens blankets are given to the coolies free of cost. One mosquito curtain should also in the same manner be given to them. In addition, however, to the dhoti, sarees and blankets provided annually by the garden authorities on Durga Puja or Fagua festivals, the following requirements should be met by the coolie from his or her own earnings :—

Clothing Estimate—Yearly.

(Prices prevalent in 1939)

	Rs.	a.	p.
3 "Dhoties"—9 yds.	...	3 0	0
2 shirts	...	2 8	0
1 "Chaddar"	...	1 0	0
4 "Sarees"	...	7 0	0
2 "Gamchhas" (Towels)	...	0 12	0
2 "Jhulas" (Female garments)	...	1 8	0
2 Umbrellas	...	2 0	0
4 "Dhoties" (For Children)	...	2 8	0
2 Pants	...	1 8	0
2 Shirts	...	1 8	0
2 Blankets	...	2 0	0
(Cost per year, if it lasts for 3 years)			
2 Mosquito curtains	...	2 0	0
(Average yearly expenditure when one mosquito curtain is used for two years)			

Rs. ... 27 4 0

The above estimate does not include any warm clothing, not even for the children. Nor does it include any expenditure on footwear. For these articles Rs. 6/- have to be added to the above estimate. The monthly expenditure therefore amounts to (Rs. 33-4-0 divided by 12) Rs. 2-12-1 for a family unit. The coolies also purchase utensils, ropes, soaps, soda, matches, betel-nuts and tobacco, kerosene lamps, and oil and a few bangles, etc. for the women. The cost of all these amounts to Rs. 2/12 - per month :—

(Prices prevalent in
1939.)

	Rs.	a.	p.
Utensils	...	0	8 0
Ropes, agricultural implements, baskets, etc.	...	0	12 0
"Pan," betel nuts, tobacco and matches	...	0	8 0
Kerosene	...	0	8 0
Ordinary ornaments, ribbons, "churis," mirror, comb, hair oil, a few toys for the children...	0	8	0
	Rs.	2	12 0

The minimum living wage should not only safeguard physical well-being but also provide for inevitable social needs, e.g., an occasional recreation or social ceremony, such as a festival of childbirth and marriage, religious observances and some saving for protection against old age and decrepitude and, above all, education. The provision made by the estate authorities for the spread of education is extremely meagre. Facilities for education for both children and adults should be provided. The workers for this purpose should be made to earn and to spend. By so doing they would become more particular about education, and their stolid indifference in this respect would be counteracted.

We may now estimate the dietetic, clothing and other norms for setting up the minimum wage scale, as follows :—

Minimum Living Standard for a Worker's Family of 4 Persons.

(Cost per month at
pre-war prices).

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Physiologically adequate dietary	...	13	5 0
2. Clothing and Bedding	...	2	12 0
3. Festivals	...	1	0 0
4. Education	...	1	0 0
5. Barber, Washermen, Tailors	1	0	0
6. Recreation, Travelling	...	2	0 0
7. Miscellaneous	...	2	12 0

Rs. 23 13 0

The earnings of a family should amount to Rs. 23/13/- per month. Under the prevailing rates of remuneration, viz. one anna per hour per man and three-fourth of an anna per hour per woman, the average monthly income per head does not exceed Rs. 7/- in the Assam Valley, Rs. 6/- in the Surma Valley and Rs. 4/8/- in the Dooars. The average number of earners in a family had been calculated to be 2.46. Thus the present family earnings stand between Rs. 16/- to Rs. 17/8/- in the Assam Valley, Rs. 12/5/- to Rs. 15/- in the Surma Valley and Rs. 9/14/- to Rs. 12/- in the Dooars. The earnings of the children have been included in every case. But henceforward it is urged to exclude children below the age of 10 years from all jobs and the male and female adults should together earn the total amount of Rs. 23/13/- per month at the prewar level.

Legal Minimum.—The problem, however, still remains intricate. Wages in the plantations are paid on a piece-rate basis and the fixation of a minimum for piece-workers is especially complicated owing to

the difficulty of defining the 'piece.' Moreover, it is not possible to suggest fixed scales for all possible types of jobs, particularly when the chances of evasion are manifold. We, therefore, adopt the device of fixing an amount per hour as the least that a worker on piece work must receive.

The basic rate of 8 annas per "havaira" defined as a unit of four hours only should be adopted, irrespective of the season, climate, soil and other concessions, to which additional amount would accrue to the workers for *ticca* or additional tasks at rates that would vary according to the tasks. Thus hoeing, pruning and plucking will be paid at different piece rates. Should the workers desire to increase their daily earnings such piece rates would also have to be adjusted to their skill and to the soil, seasonal and other conditions of the garden.

The fixation of a basic minimum rate would prevent underemployment in the gardens and at the same time enable a quality worker to increase his or her earning on the basis of piece work. Inefficient workers, who may be estimated at 10 to 15 per cent of the labour force, would leave the gardens rather than lower the general wage-rates. Their employment would mean the reduction of output as well as of the average standard of living and frustrate the whole purpose of a minimum wage policy.

Sometimes the cost of living differs from one district to another, so that equal real wages can only accrue if money wages differ by an equivalent amount. Again, if labour in different districts is of different quality, the criterion of "fairness" is satisfied if while the minimum basic "havaira" rate (8 annas) remains the same, the piece rates are modified according to the skill of the workers and the conditions of the work from garden to garden and

season to season. It is also advisable to issue "learners' certificates" to enable young persons who are learning the trade to be paid a special wage. But in no case should the minimum for the learners be fixed too low, for the employers attracted by their cheapness, might encourage the employment of a large number of young workers and then discharge them later when these have to be paid at adult rates; on the other hand, if the rates are fixed too high, the employers will not find it worth while to teach persons the trade, and young workers will be unable to enter it.

Woman's minimum wages are to be fixed on a par with man's. The family budget studies in Assam have revealed that the women make a contribution of about 38% of the family income, men 50% and children 12%. Thus, for tea plantations, women should be put at least on an equal footing with men. Prof. Mukherjee writes in his "Indian Working Class," ".....The wife and the daughter of the working class family are not to be regarded as adding to its income by work, away from home, but as contributing towards the happiness and comfort of the family by their household duties in the house where meals have to be prepared, clothing washed and the little ones cared for by them." This interpretation agrees with the general principle underlying the basic wage fixation in Queensland, Australia. The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1932, states: "The basic wage of an adult male employee must be not less than is sufficient to maintain a well conducted employee and his wife and a family of three children in a fair and average standard of comfort having regard to the conditions of living prevailing among employees in this calling in respect of which such basic wage is fixed, and providing

that in fixing such basic wage the earnings of the children or wife of such employee shall not be taken into account." The plantation industries being more akin to agriculture than to manufacturing industries, it is possible to find work for women. But if the women are kept away for ten to twelve hours in the field as is done throughout the major portion of the year in the gardens, it is extremely difficult to expect that their contribution towards the happiness of the family, as envisaged above, will be at all satisfactory. Women therefore should not be allowed to work more than six hours in the field in any case, while the working hours for the adult male should be restricted to 8 hours per day.

Our main contention at present is that women can at best make a contribution of 40% to the total family income and the remaining 60% of the income should be earned by men, who are comparatively free from household duties. It has been found that if the husband earns Rs. 10/- per month, the wife will earn Rs. 7/- taking the complete year into consideration. In the Dooars and the Surma Valley the "havaira" for men is 4 annas, while that for women is 3 annas; in the Assam Valley 5 annas per "havaira" is the rate for women. This disparity between the rates of wages of men and women is undesirable when we consider that women, apart from their work in the field, have to undergo the drudgery of household duties every morning and evening. Generally, women are employed on less strenuous jobs than men. But for a considerable period in the year a large number of women are employed on jobs usually done by men.

The rate of payment is not altered and women continue to do men's jobs for lower "havaira" rates. In the Dooars almost all the children in the busy plucking season are employed on the jobs of women for one anna six pies per "havaira." This disparity between the rates of wages of men, women and children for the same jobs should at once be abolished. Both men and women should be given wages at equal rates.

An increase in wage rates will attract a larger number of labourers from the recruiting districts and various problems of recruitment will be liquidated. It is no use saying that the planters provide the coolie with extras which should count in lieu of wages. Such concessions do not make any impression on the minds of persons who are asked to emigrate. Similar is the attitude of the average labourers, who have been in the gardens for quite a long time, towards these amenities.

Moreover, higher wages will bring about an increased output in the garden and an improvement of the standard of living of the workers. The prospect of higher earnings will act as a stimulus for improvement of the speed and amount of work. There will be less absenteeism, and improvement of health, diminution of sickness and general contentment of the labour force will follow. The workers will retain their working efficiency for a larger number of years. All these will react favourably upon the conditions of the tea industry. In so far as higher wages will affect the health and efficiency of the children, the next generation of the employees will reap the advantage of higher wages given today.

NOTES AND NEWS

SIXTH CONVOCATION OF THE TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The Sixth Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences was held on the 12th April, 1946. After the Director presented his report for the year 1945-46 (see page 61), Sir Sorab Saklatvala, who presided on the occasion, welcomed Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the Convocation Speaker, in the following words :—

“ This is the sixth Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and the fifth occasion on which it has been my privilege to preside. We have had distinguished visitors from *near and far* as our convocation speakers ‘at these gatherings, and today it is our great good fortune to have amongst us yet another of India’s distinguished sons—Sir Mirza Ismail.

“ His name is inseparably associated with the flourishing State of Mysore and in more recent years with the progress of Jaipur. Since 1943 I have paid several visits to Bangalore and have heard and seen ample evidence of Sir Mirza’s great work for the State. His genius as an administrator is writ large in the progress that Mysore has made in Education, Industry, Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction.

“ Perhaps not many of you are aware how far back Sir Mirza’s experience of administration stretches, for he carries his years better than does many a younger man. I trust I shall not embarrass him by disclosing that he started his career in the Mysore State Service in 1905. He rose to the highest position in the State, that of Dewan, in 1926 and a new era of prosperity opened for Mysore. For 15 years Sir Mirza brought all his great gifts of energy, integrity and vision to the service of Mysore. He grew in these years from an able administrator into a statesman of liberal views and wide outlook, being present at the Round Table Conference and at Inter-Governmental Conferences.

“ Here today in an academic institution and at an academic function it may

seem that we are little concerned with Sir Mirza as an administrator, and perhaps I should dwell exclusively on his work in matters of educational policy and social reform. But I do not take that view. I think it is a mistaken view, and I am sure my young friends, who are presently to receive their diplomas with due academic gravity, do not so mistake the purpose of the education that they have received here.

“ The student or educationist or social reformer who thinks only in terms of study or education or social reform generally takes too narrow a view of his own special province. Such lack of perspective is, I venture to think, our handicap. We have few men in India who have the breadth of outlook that *should inform* social and educational policies. Sir Mirza, however, is no newcomer to this field. His convocation addresses to universities in different parts of the country have always been characterised by freedom from the conventional, by a bold forthright, quality, born of a many-sided experience. We look forward this evening to a like address, and I feel sure our young graduates are with me in this.

“ I should like to assure Sir Mirza that he has come today to an institution which seeks to promote a wide outlook. I am proud to say that our young students are trained to follow a profession which, though it offers few material rewards, can be rich in many-sided experience drawn from their contacts with labour and industry, with medical and social work, and with welfare administration. These

men and women go forth as social administrators, if I may use the term, whose task, whose privilege it is to harmonize human relationships, to remedy mal-adjustments and to promote co-operation for the welfare of all.

“ You, Sir, in your high office have ever stood for the advancement of the common people by improvement in their standard of living through broad, sane and concrete measures. Your influence has ever been on the side of co-operation and goodwill. Your constructive policies have made your name a household word. It is, therefore, with confident expectation that I now invite you on behalf of all of us here assembled and on behalf of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences to deliver the Convocation address.”

At the outset, Sir Mirza Ismail, the Prime Minister of Jaipur, thanked the Chairman for his cordial invitation to come to Bombay to deliver this year's Address to the graduating students of the Institute. And then in delivering his Address Sir Mirza said :

“ This Institution is associated with a name which has become a household word in this country. And deservedly so. For the Tatas have not only been pioneer industrialists in India but are also unsurpassed as philanthropists and public benefactors. What pleases one particularly is that their beneficence is all embracing. It recognises no barrier of any kind. For these reasons I regard the Tatas as a national institution, an institution in the success and prosperity of which the whole country is interested.

“ One of the most useful schemes which the Tatas have founded is that of this Institute, the principal aim of which is the training of young men and women for responsible positions in social welfare work. Training for rural uplift is a great

necessity in this country. More and more young people, well-trained, equipped with the requisite knowledge, full of energy, and imbued with zeal to work for humanity, are required for this kind of work, not only in villages but in towns and cities as well. As we know, the conditions in the latter also are far from satisfactory. These trained persons can do invaluable work. They will know what has to be done, and how it is to be done, to make the lot of the common man happier. They should be adequately paid, and should have reasonably good prospects. I don't believe in paying inadequate salaries and expecting devoted service in return. The labourer must be worthy of his hire, but his hire too must be worthy of him.

“ The economic and political problems and programmes of the whole world, and particularly of our country, are so vast and involve so much that there is not a phase of the life of our people to which they are not related. Hence the unique importance of such a preparation as is given here.

“ It is the aim of the Institute to make social service scientific, and even, in an appropriate sense, scholarly. Those admitted are graduates ; that is to say, they are persons who are presumed to have gained already a certain breadth of knowledge and a certain habit of intellectual discipline. Such men are fit to be taught how to deal with social problems and social work in a scientific spirit and by scientific methods, the wastefulness of personal trial and error thus being avoided. In this the Institute is indeed a pioneer in India, and its usefulness and responsibility cannot be exaggerated. The list of former students in your Bulletin sufficiently suggests the variety of professional employment for which it successfully prepares. I presume that in every part of its organizations and

work political tendencies are sedulously avoided. There is no sphere in which it is more desirable that the staff should keep themselves remote from political utterance or influence ; for that would immediately both narrow and weaken this great Institution. Any doctrine, that is even in the most tolerable sense party or sectarian, or is even regarded as such by sections of the people, should not have expression in this place. Above all, since this is a school of social service, the very essence of which is a wide and eager generosity, the hatred and malice that have been in these days the keynote of our politics should be felt here to be unworthy of both the intellect and the spirit of the staff and students.

“Your General Announcement for 1945-46 indicates that hitherto there has been great difficulty in providing satisfactorily for field work. While the many visits to social institutions must be extremely enlightening, and many agencies co-operating in field work are mentioned also, nothing can make up for the lack of exactly suitable centres on modern lines. You say that they are difficult to find, but can they not be made ? Just as any good teachers' college should have its own practising schools, so this Institute might provide practical experience and training by a whole net-work of social service centres of its own, as widely spread as possible. Academicism is a great danger in social studies, just as the academic study of child psychology may, unless wisely directed, produce the dangerous expert about children instead of their understanding friend. It is emphasised in your Bulletin that students are not admitted unless they are of the right personal quality, which includes genuine regard for the people to be served, and I am sure it is felt too that every moment

spent under the direction of the Institute should have its bearing upon practical and disinterested service.

“It is good to read that ‘no student is permitted to register for law or any other outside classes or take up part-time work.’ There is an admirable and necessary firmness in this. I am sure that pressure must often be exerted upon you to change this rule or make exceptions to it, and that you will never yield to such pressure. The mastering of this social theory and practice will always be even more than a full-time task.

“I learn from Dr. Kumarappa that a good deal of time has to be spent here on that preliminary study of Sociology which might well form a part of degree courses in the universities. I agree with him that Sociology is an admirable degree subject. For many years it has been a B.A. and B.Sc. optional in Mysore University, and it has been very popular, and has aroused the keen and permanent interest of its students, and formed a very valuable part of their equipment for future service. On the other hand, even if this subject is introduced in the near future in the curricula of most universities, I would deprecate your making a degree with Sociology a condition of admission here. It is quite good that you should give the preliminary sociological training along your own lines. And the men you prepare for social work will be all the better if their previous education has been as broad as possible. Finally, such a condition might exclude some of the best and most profitable students.

“Discontent exists throughout the whole length and breadth of the world. It would be a lamentable thing if the people of our country were contented, for a healthy, normal, rational and intelligent discontent is the mainspring of progress. But if discontent is not manifested in a

fashion tending towards the general good, if there is no understanding, no co-ordination, then the discontent finds its expression in ways that will be injurious to progress and civilization. This is the mood of many people in India to-day, more particularly of the ordinary worker. Much the same thing can be said of the students in many places. They are out to fight and to destroy. What they hope to gain by such behaviour, it is difficult to see. In circumstances such as these, the trained and more mature young men you are sending out of this Institute can do a considerable amount of good in smoothing ruffled feathers, in spreading correct knowledge, and in teaching patience and reflection.

"For you, my young friends, let India be the apotheosis of all that is good and true and worthy of devotion. To give service to her was, I am sure, the hope of

the Founders of the Institute as it is also of your professors.

"May this inspiration be with you now and ever !

"To those who have now finished their course and are receiving their diplomas to-day, I offer my congratulations and my very earnest good wishes for their personal happiness and prosperity, and for their blessedness in wise and patient service of the people."

* * * *

The Chairman then presented the Diplomas in Social Service Administration to the following candidates on the recommendation of the Director that they had completed satisfactorily the requirements of the Institute :—

* * * *

Candidates

Bharucha, Miss B. D.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944.
Bombay.

Choudhury, S. B.
B.Sc., Rangoon University, 1939.
Myitkyina, Burma.

Deodhar, L. D.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944 ;
T.D., Bombay University, 1941.
Belgaum, Bombay Presy.

Engineer, Miss K. M.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944.
Bombay.

Kamath, P. V.
B.A., Madras University, 1941 ;
LL.B., Bombay University, 1943,
Karkala, Mangalore,

Thesis Subjects

"Case Study of 75 Dole-Receiving Parsi Families in Poona."

"Life and Labour of Bombay Tram Conductors."

"A Socio-Economic Survey of Workers in Phalton Sugar Works at Sakharwadce."

"Life and Labour of Trained Nurses in the General Hospitals of Bombay."

"Life and Work of Bombay Bus Drivers."

Candidates**Thesis Subjects**

Katticarani, G. J. B.A., Madras University, 1941. Ernakulam, Cochin.	"Life and Labour of Tea Plantation Workers in the Carady Goody Estate, Travancore."
Khanderia, Miss J. G. B.A., Bombay University, 1944. Junagadh, Kathiawar.	"Life and Labour of 75 Domestic Servants in Bombay."
Krishnamachari, S. B.A. (Hons.), Madras University, 1944. Hyderabad-Deccan.	"Life and Labour of 90 Colliery Workers in Kothagudum Collieries, Hyderabad State."
Kulkarni, P. D. B.Sc., Nagpur University, 1943. Malwa, Ujjain, C.I.	"A Study of Textile Trade Unionism in Bombay."
Lakdawalla, Miss K. A. B.A., Agra University, 1939 ; M.A., Agra University, 1943. Indore, C.I.	"A Study of 50 Social Vice and Moral Danger Cases of Girls under Sections 7(1) (e) and (f) of the Bombay Children Act."
Malhotra, Miss Raj B.A., Punjab University, 1944. Delhi.	"A Case-Work Study of 50 Crippled Children-in-Patients in the Wadia and B. J. Hospitals for Children."
Marr, Miss Phyllis B.A., Punjab University, 1942. Batala, Punjab.	"Maternity and Child Welfare in the Jharia Coalfields."
Moosavi, Syed Ali Mohd. M.A., Osmania University, 1944. Hyderabad (Deccan).	"Life and Labour of 100 Working Class Families in the Hyderabad Allywn Metal Works Ltd."
Pan A'kal, J. J. B.Sc., Madras University, 1943. Ernakulam, Cochin.	"A Study of the Application of Mass Non-Violent Resistance as a Social Technique in Modern India."
Paul, K. B.A., Travancore University, 1943. Travancore.	"Industrial Co-operatives of Travancore."
Roy, B. K. B.Sc., Calcutta University, 1941. Akyab, Burma.	"A Study of Famine Victims in the Central Work-house and Destitute Home, Mirzapur, 24 Parganas, Bengal."
Sambashivan, K. S. B.A., Madras University, 1944. Ernakulam, Cochin.	"Life and Labour of Textile Workers of Alagappa Textiles (Cochin) Ltd."

Candidates	Thesis Subjects
Sharma, Miss V. B.A., Delhi University, 1944. Delhi.	"Life and Labour of Student-Nurses in the Sir J. J. Group of Hospitals, Bombay."
Sidhwa, Miss N. B. B.A., Bombay University, 1944. Bombay.	"Life and Labour of Workers in the Metal Box Co. of India Ltd., Bombay."
Sud, Miss S. D. B.Sc., Punjab University, 1944. Hoshiapur, Punjab.	"A Socio-Economic Study of the Peasant Proprietors of the Village of Bahaderpur in District Hoshiapur."
Thomas, P. T. B.A., Travancore University, 1943. Kumbanad, Travancore.	"Life and Labour of the Fisherfolk of Anjengo, Travancore."
Zachariah, K. A. B.A., Travancore University, 1944. Thalavady, Travancore.	"A Survey of Social Service Agencies in Travancore State."

CERTIFICATE CANDIDATES

Chinniah, Miss M. Jaffna, Ceylon.	"A Socio-Economic Survey of 100 Indian Labour Families in Two Tea Estates in Ceylon."
Mukerjee, Anil Kumar Moulmein, Burma.	"Life and Labour of 92 Fishermen Families of Kamtana and Kalna Villages in the District of Jessore, Bengal."

TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES REPORT FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1945-46

The year 1945-46 has been an eventful one in the history of the world. Though World War II, which caused untold suffering and destruction of life and property, has ended, peace is still not in sight. Like all other institutions, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences has also had to face the disorganizing effects of this War. Though our work has gone on without serious dislocation, the violence and narrow nationalism evoked by the war has intensified our communal and political conflicts which have claimed many lives, one of them being an alumnus of our Institute.

It is with deep regret, therefore, that I record the tragic death of Mr. K. B. Golwala on the night of Monday, the 25th March, as the result of a fatal blow sustained by him in a conflict of two opposing election parties. After his graduation from our Institute in 1940, Mr. Golwala was engaged as Superintendent of Sir Ratan Tata Welfare Centre where he carried out successfully a comprehensive community programme. When the war broke out, he resigned his post to join the Communist Party. He took an active part in all matters connected with the youth movement. He was simple in his habits

and sincere in everything he did. We have lost one of our best alumni and the Bombay Youth Organization one of its foremost and untiring workers.

But for this one sad incident, the record for the year under report has been fairly satisfactory in spite of the unsettled conditions and general restlessness.

Since some reference was made in the last year's Report to the Director's visit to America, a brief statement of his work in that country may not be out of place here. During the past few years, there has been an increasing demand for trained social workers but, unfortunately, we could not admit a larger number of students owing to the lack of accommodation and tutorial facilities. In view of this, the Director prepared a scheme for the post-war expansion of the Institute. The chief difficulty we have had to face has been that of securing in India an adequately trained faculty for teaching the specialised subjects we offer. Since there is no university in India which provides such training, it was found necessary not only to arrange for Visiting Professors from abroad but also to send a few of our more promising and experienced graduates to the United States for advanced study. When the Trustees had decided to depute the Director to America to explore the possibilities in this regard, he received an invitation from the Cultural Division of the Department of State to visit the United States as their guest.

Accordingly, he spent six months in that country, travelling from coast to coast, to learn as much as he could about State Social Services as well as those carried on by private bodies. He also visited some of the leading schools of social work, contacted several prominent social scientists and social service agencies. Incidentally, he was able to secure about

Rs. 75,000/- worth of scholarships and fellowships from American institutions, the major portion of which is meant for advanced training of our graduates in the U.S.A. Further, it is encouraging to report that some noted American social scientists have expressed their willingness to come to our Institute as Visiting Professors when conditions improve.

Thus his visit to the United States has not only been of financial advantage but also of cultural value to the Institute. The prospect and possibility it has opened up for training our young men and women, and for continuing the contact and goodwill established with American institutions and educationists constitute a cultural benefit of a lasting character.

In accordance with arrangements thus made, Mr. D. V. Kulkarni, who graduated from here in 1938 and who is the Superintendent of the Yravda Industrial School at Poona, left last October to join the New York School of Social Work, and to make a special study of Institutional Care of Children. In February of this year, Dr. Miss G. R. Banerjee, who graduated from our Institute in 1944, left to join the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago where she will specialise in Medical Social Work. In the early part of March, Dr. M. V. Moorthy, a junior member of the faculty, sailed for the United States, where he hopes to undergo training in Labour Economics and Industrial Relations at the University of Chicago. As the passage situation improves, three or four others will proceed to the U.S.A. on American fellowships awarded to our graduates for advanced study in Applied Social Sciences.

The Director returned from America about the middle of June 1945, just in time for the opening of the new session. Out of the numerous applications received,

25 students—7 women and 18 men—were admitted to the Junior Class. Their geographical distribution is as follows :—

Belgaum	... 1
Bombay	... 9
Calcutta	... 1
Central Provinces	... 1
Ceylon	... 1
Cochin	... 4
Hyderabad (Deccan)	... 1
Punjab	... 1
Travancore	... 2
United Provinces	... 3
Sind	... 1

Indian States, such as Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin, have awarded scholarships to some of their students for undergoing training here.

The Institute requires each student to do in addition to the academic studies a certain amount of practical work. I am glad to report that we are gradually surmounting the difficulty of finding suitable field-work facilities. The Nagpada Neighbourhood House continues to be the major centre for our field work. Some of its activities for the benefit of the people of the neighbourhood are conducted by our students. For this purpose four student committees, namely, the Women's Committee, the Education Committee, the Play Centre Committee and the Nursery School Committee, have been organized. Once a week they meet to discuss their problems and programmes. In putting through their plan of activities they are assisted by paid staff who are employed in order to give continuity to the work when students are away during long vacations.

This apart, there are other social service agencies which continue to give their cooperation. The Zoroastrian Welfare Association provides opportunities for field

work in community welfare ; the Children's Aid Society and the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, in probation and the institutional management of special children. Labour Welfare Departments of the Bombay Government, the Municipal Corporation, the Port Trust and of the Khatau Makanji Mills provide opportunities for field work experience in labour welfare and labour officer's work. The Wadia Hospital for Children affords facilities for various kinds of services to sick children. Usually the junior students are provided field work in the Neighbourhood House, while the senior students are sent to outside agencies. We hope in coming years not only to increase the amount of practical work done by each student but also to provide adequate supervision and guidance.

Since social research has not yet received in India attention in proportion to its importance, our Institute has taken it up as one of its chief functions. As part fulfilment of the requirements for the Diploma in Social Service Administration, every student is expected to carry out a social research project in a selected field, and submit a thesis embodying his findings. The variety and nature of the subjects studied may be seen from the printed programme distributed to you. Many of these investigations into social problems contain original and valuable information.

The Indian Journal of Social Work, published by our Bureau of Research and Publications, continues to grow in popularity and service. Though it was hit hard by the Paper Control Order, its circulation, in the different parts of British India and in about fifty Indian States, has not been affected. But, owing to the shortage of paper, we were unable to bring out any books, though we have some manuscripts ready for publication.

In 1944 the Trustees decided, on the recommendation of the Director, to institute two scholarships, known as the Sir Dorabji Tata Research Scholarships, to encourage those of our graduates who show special aptitude for research, to make a fuller study of the problem undertaken for investigation in the senior year. Dr. Miss G. R. Banerjee was the first recipient of one of these awards for the academic year 1944-45. Her study of 'Rescue Work for Women Sex Delinquents in India' has been completed. When published, it will be the first book of its kind on this problem in India. But owing to paper shortage, its publication has been delayed. Similarly, the 'Economic and Social Survey of the Village Dharavi,' made by two of our former students—Mr. A. G. Nagaraj ('42) and Mrs. K. Joshi ('44) under the guidance of Dr. Mehta—for the Rotary Club of Bombay is awaiting publication.

For the year under report, the two Research Scholarships were awarded to Miss S. F. Mehta and Mr. M. S. Gore, for combined research on the 'Life and Work of Graduate Secondary School Teachers in Bombay.' While the former is studying the case-records of women teachers, the latter is investigating the problems of men teachers. They hope to complete 300 cases by the end of May of this year, and their report also will then be ready for publication. Though the work that is being done by our Bureau of Research is encouraging, yet we are unable to do as much as we should like to for lack of research personnel and facilities.

We are frequently asked as to what happens to graduates of this Institute. Since 1938 batches of graduates have gone out from here as trained social workers, almost all of whom have had no difficulty in finding suitable employment.

They are working as Labour Officers, Superintendents of Reformatories and Orphanages, Labour Welfare Officers, Clinical Workers, Welfare Officers of Municipalities, Family Case Workers, Probation Officers for Juvenile Courts and Prisons, Organizing Secretaries for Social Service Agencies and so forth. Though we do not lay so much emphasis on salaries received as on opportunities for service, it may be mentioned as a matter of information that their salaries range from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 1000/- a month.

In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that higher scales of salary are paid by profit-making concerns while lower scales are offered by private social agencies. The latter, I believe, should plan on paying more adequate salaries as social workers, like others, have family responsibilities to bear. They should not be required to sacrifice their families' interests and essential needs merely because they have chosen the profession of social work. Better salaries should be paid to encourage more of our young people to enter the much neglected field of social work.

Turning now to the Child Guidance Clinic, it is gratifying to report that the Clinic is serving the public in many ways. Individual physicians and parents make use of it directly. Children with behaviour problems are also referred to the Clinic by the J. J. Group of Hospitals and by some progressive schools. Further, it continues to provide systematic clinical instruction in Child Psychiatry and Child Guidance for post-graduate students deputed to undergo a short period of training with us as part requirement for the Diploma in Pediatrics of the Bombay University, and for the Diploma in Child Health of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In addition, the Clinic serves as usual as

a laboratory for the students of our Institute who study theory in the classroom and observe its practical application in the Clinic. (See Appendix I for Illustrative Cases.)

During the last three years, the Institute has suffered much owing to the shortage of instructors. Due to the war, we were unable further to bring out scholars from abroad, or to send our own graduates to the West for advanced studies. A few months back, it was decided to appoint Dr. Miss Kamala Kosambi who has obtained a doctorate from the University of Michigan in Child Psychology and allied subjects. Though she was appointed last July to the Faculty, she, unfortunately, has not yet been able to return to India to join duty owing to the difficulty of securing passage. Another item of interest is that we are in negotiation with the U.S. Department of State for a Visiting Professor on Medical Social Work, as we wish to offer training, in the near future, for this coming profession in India.

A matter which gives me much pleasure to announce is the acquisition of a piece of land for our new habitat. For some years past, the inadequacy of our present temporary building to meet the growing demands of our institution has been pointed out in our reports. But the Trustees could do nothing to relieve the situation owing to the difficulty of securing permission for building and building materials during the war. Now that the war is over, we have bought a piece of Improvement Trust land in Worli, measuring about 12,500 square yards. Worli has the advantage of being populated by mill labour ; there is also a fairly good Government

Labour Welfare Centre which, we hope, will serve us as one of our field work units. At present the land is under military occupation, but as soon as it is released we hope to put up our new buildings.

In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Cultural Division of the U.S. Department of State for the hospitality and courtesy extended to me during my sojourn in the United States, and for their generous contribution of books on Social Sciences to our library. Our thanks are also due to the American universities which have very kindly offered scholarships and fellowships to our students. Turning to those who have given us voluntary help, I wish to thank Dr. Miss K. H. Cama, Presidency Magistrate of the Juvenile Court, for conducting the course on Juvenile Delinquency, the Government of Bombay for giving her permission to do so, and the various agencies for their cooperation in providing field work facilities ; and on behalf of the Clinic Miss S. K. Powvala, Dr. George Coelho, Honorary Pediatrist, B. J. Hospital for Children, and Dr. R. V. Sanzgiri, Honorary Pediatrist, Jerbai Wadia Hospital for Children, who have freely given of their time and services. My thanks are also due to the Trustees and the Board of Governors for their keen interest and kind cooperation in all matters connected with the progress of the Institute. Finally, I express my gratitude to the Faculty for willingly shouldering additional responsibilities during my absence to maintain the Institutes' normal working standards.

J. M. KUMARAPPA
Director.

CHILD WELFARE AND MATERNITY RELIEF WORK IN RURAL AREAS

Thanks to the keen and practical interest taken by Her Highness the Princess of Berar and the Princess Niloufer, the work connected with child welfare and maternity relief, especially in rural areas, is going to receive an added stimulus. It will be recalled that under the patronage of Her Highness the Princess of Berar, the Hyderabad Women and Children's Medical Aid Association was formed two years ago. It is gratifying to note that the Association has done, during the comparatively brief period of its existence, valuable spadework and has paved the way for a considerable expansion of its activities in this essentially humanitarian sphere.

Twin Schemes

Princess Niloufer, President of the Association, has now formulated two schemes for the establishment of a number of child welfare centres and maternity wards in rural areas. The cost of the two schemes is to be met from a grant of Rs. 15.00 lakhs made by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government out of the proceeds of the Excess Profits Tax. Both schemes have been framed on a 3 year basis. It is also contemplated to establish a School for Health Visitors "workers who are of paramount importance in child welfare organizations." The work is to begin on a selective basis gradually embracing the entire countryside.

Scheme No. 1

The first scheme envisages the establishment of fifteen child welfare centres and nine maternity wards in selected rural areas. Work in connection with the establishment of child welfare centres is to be undertaken immediately. In this emphasis is to be laid on home visiting, ante-natal care, domiciliary midwifery and after-care of the mother and the infant. As for

the establishment of maternity wards, it is to be realized that the success of the venture presupposes the availability of trained personnel both medical and ancillary. Because of the shortage of trained staff, it is proposed to keep in abeyance that part of the scheme dealing with the establishment of maternity wards—at least, for the present.

Training School

The prerequisite for this work is an adequate supply of trained Health Visitors. To fulfill this need, it is proposed to set up a Training School for Health Visitors. The institution will admit six qualified midwives in each session for intensive training extending over a period of six months. The trainees will also be required to attend refresher courses, at suitable intervals, to keep their knowledge up-to-date. The number of qualified Health Visitors passing out of the school every year will be twelve. Nearly half of them will be absorbed in the institutions run by the Women and Children's Medical Aid Association and the rest may be employed by the Medical and Public Health Department of the State to carry out its expanded programme for maternity relief and child welfare in the district towns.

To induce qualified midwives to undergo the specialized training provided in the school, they will be given a monthly stipend of Rs. 25 each on condition that they take up the training after having already qualified for the profession.

Liaison

It may be mentioned that the child welfare centres contemplated to be established under the schemes will be located in such areas as have maternity wards run

by the Medical and Public Health Department, so that useful liaison may exist between them and the maternity wards. When the Association is in a position to provide maternity wards in rural areas these will always be associated with the existing Child Welfare Centres. The selection of places for the proposed centres will be made with due regard to the fact that as large areas and populations as possible are served and the maximum benefit derived. Every effort will be made to ensure the necessary accessibility for inspection and co-operation with similar centres set up by the Medical and Public Health Department.

Financial Aspect

It is estimated that at the end of the third year the capital to the credit of the Hyderabad Women and Children's Medical Aid Association will stand at a little over ten lakhs of rupees yielding an annual income of Rs. 30,000, while the annual expenditure will be a little over Rs. 68,000. This means that while nearly half the expenditure may be met from the donation made by the Government, the Association will have to provide the remainder from other sources.

Scheme No. 2

Under this scheme, framed on a 3-year basis, it is proposed to establish thirty

maternity and child welfare centres in selected rural areas at the rate of ten centres each year. Similarly, twelve maternity wards—each with ten beds—will be provided at the rate of four every year. They will be located in areas where no such facilities have been provided by the Medical and Public Health Department.

There should be no difficulty with regard to the establishment of ten child welfare centres every year as the Training School will turn out annually twelve Health Visitors. That part of the programme dealing with maternity wards will have to remain in abeyance at present for want of women medical officers.

The framer of these twin-schemes, Princess Niloufer, recommends the advisability of providing grants-in-aid to Local Bodies (District Boards) which submit approved maternity and child welfare schemes and also to the district branches of the Hyderabad Women and Children's Medical Aid Association, thereby relieving the central Association of its responsibility in rural areas. Such grants, she suggests, may be given on a 50-50 basis to meet recurrent expenses of approved schemes. This will enable the Association to broaden its sphere of work to cover the entire Dominions.—From *Hyderabad Information*, March 1946.

MUIR COLLEGE FUND PRIZE

Muir College Fund Prize.—From the Social Service League of the Allahabad University comes to us the pleasant news that the present Secretary of the League, Mr. Kailash Swarup Shroti, who is studying

for his M.A. degree in Economics, is the recipient of the Muir College Fund Prize which is awarded to the student who does the most useful social work. Our congratulations go to him for the same.

ALUMNI CHRONICLE

Mr. John Barnabas (TISS '38) resigned his post of the Organizing Secretary, Social Service League, Lucknow, and joined the Labour Department, Government of India, as a Rehabilitation Officer. He is at present posted at Bangalore.

Mr. M. J. Cherian (TISS '42) who was a Labour Officer in the Tata Oil Mills, Sewri, Bombay, is now working as the Labour Officer with Parry & Co., Madras.

Miss Aloo F. Desai (TISS '42) who was working as a Family Case Worker, Parsi Panchayat Funds & Properties, Bombay, since her graduation from the Institute, has been recently appointed "Hospital Almoner" in the J. J. Hospital, Bombay.

The appointment of a hospital almoner is a new type of appointment in our country and indicates the recognition of the need of associating trained medical social workers with the treatment of patients.

Mr. S. Krishnamachari (TISS '46) who was a Hyderabad State Scholar at the

Institute has been appointed a Labour Welfare Inspector in the Labour Department of the State.

Mr. Meher Nanavati (TISS '45) has been appointed the Secretary of the Liaison Committee for Charity Organization appointed by different Parsi Charity Trusts cooperating in the scheme of coordination of charity work carried on by different Parsi Charity Trusts in Bombay. For this purpose a Central Bureau for investigation of cases for relief and following up cases in which relief is given has been created. This Bureau is to work under the direction of the Parsi Charity Organization Society. This is a welcome attempt towards co-ordination of charity work.

Miss Sheroo Mehta (TISS '45) and Miss Nargish Sidhwa (TISS '46) have joined the above mentioned Central Investigation Bureau as Family Case Workers and will work under the direction of the Parsi Charity Organization Society.

BOOK REVIEWS

Labour Management. (Its Theory and Practice). By S. M. ANKLIKAR, B.A., LLB. Bombay: New Book Company, 1945. Rs. 3-8-0.

An effort has been made for the first time in India to write on Scientific Labour Management. The author who is himself a Labour Officer is aware of the shortcomings of his venture, in spite of his personal experience in the line, since the field of Scientific Labour Management is still in its infancy in India, thanks to the apathy and indifference of the industrial employers. Most of the ideas and principles enunciated in the book are derived from Western authors on the subject.

While accepting the modern Capitalist system, Personnel Management as envisaged by the author rejects the commodity conception of Labour whereby the worker in industry is entirely dehumanized and referred to merely as a 'hand' who can be hired and fired at the will and pleasure of the employer. The author, therefore, rightly emphasizes the basic wish of all the workers and their families for security both economic and physical, the fulfilment of which is one of the fundamental aims of Scientific Labour Management. In this connection one cannot but feel the absence in the book of any reference to morale of the worker. Morale is the spirit that vitalizes an industry and is expressed in terms of loyalty, good-will and co-operation. The establishment of a high morale is the

immediate aim of Labour Management in an age of collective bargaining, strained employer—employee relations and class conflicts.

The sequence of the various subjects dealt with in the book does not seem logical; it is not possible to understand thoroughly the various aspects of absenteeism and labour turnover before dealing with the fundamental factors of Personnel Management, viz. wages, hours and conditions of work, of which the two former are by and large the effects or consequences. Again, the views expressed in the book on Labour Welfare, Legislation, and Unemployment are vague and scrappy and need a great deal of modification by way of solution of the problems created by the existing conditions.

The book is full of statistical information culled from various reports and books, which, though interesting, is at times irrelevant. Written in a simple language, the book is without any literary flourish which would have ill-suited the subject dealt with. For the first attempt in the field the author deserves our congratulations.

P. V. KAMATH.

Labour and Factory Legislation in India. By H. M. TRIVEDI, B.Sc., Bombay: N. M. Tripathi Ltd., 1945. Rs. 15 Nett.

At a time when India is passing through an epidemic of strikes and an atmosphere of labour unrest, a book containing all the Labour and Factory Legislation in India is welcome. As Dr. Ambedkar

puts it in his Foreword, this book compiled by Mr. Trivedi is the most comprehensive ever published, containing all the existing Labour and Factory Legislation in India. The compiler has taken immense pains to

collect and compile all the enactments and rules relating to Labour of the Central Legislature and also the Ordinances and the Orders in Council of the Governor-General, which were in force in 1944. A few of the important Provincial Labour Acts like the 'Bombay Industrial Disputes Act' and the 'Shops and Establishments Act, 1939' have also been included in the compilation.

A brief exposition of the various Acts has been made by the Compiler in his Introduction, and a summary of the Beveridge Plan for Social Security has been given as a guide to international trends in the sphere of Social Legislation of which

Labour Legislation forms a part. The book is divided into four parts, the first two containing Pre-war Legislation and the last two War-time Legislation. This classification enables us to understand, as the compiler points out, the vital differences between the respective periods and the manner in which these differences reflect themselves in statutory law.

The book will doubtless prove useful as a book of reference to employers and employees alike and all those who are in any way connected with labour or factories and those interested in Labour Legislation as such.

P. V. KAMATH

The Warlis. By K. J. SAVE, M.A., LL.B., Special Officer for the Protection of Aborigines and Hill Tribes, Thana. With a Foreword by B. G. Kher. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1945. Rs. 10.

The appointment of special officers in charge of tribal affairs is proof of a creditable, though in many cases belated, solicitude on the part of Provincial and State Governments for the welfare of backward populations. Some of these officers have—despite the average administrator's mistrust of the expert—been chosen from the ranks of anthropologists and social workers, while others developed an interest in anthropological problems through their long and intimate contact with primitive folk. Mr. K. J. Save seems to belong to the former group, for his present book was submitted as a thesis to the University of Bombay as early as 1935, and the reader's only regret is that it does not contain an account of the author's practical work and experiences as Special Officer in Thana District. For all of us who are engaged in aboriginal and rural welfare work can learn from one another, and the success or failure of any particular measure designed to improve

the tribesmen's lot can serve as a guide in the formulation of policy.

The Warlis share the Thana District with other aboriginal tribes—such as Katkaris, Kolis, Thakurs, Dublas, Dhodias and Koknas—and in many areas they live in close symbiosis with Hindu peasantry. Anthropological work in such culturally complex areas is in many respects more difficult than research in areas of more or less homogeneous culture, and the detailed descriptions of many aspects of Warli life—supported by many valuable quotations of original texts—is evidence of the patient work put into the study of a people, which seems outwardly in no way spectacular. If despite a painstaking cataloguing of social customs and religious rites, Warli culture does not emerge as a living reality, it is perhaps due to the author's method of presentation, which relies almost entirely on general statements, and

does not picture the individual Warli in any concrete situation. To put it in other words, reading *The Warlis*, we know, say, the author's considered opinion of the position of Warli women, while reading the recent book now lying before me of another Indian scholar, we see the Pardhan woman at work and at pleasure, in the family circle and under the strain of emotional conflict.

Still *The Warlis* is a work of considerable anthropological value, which fills adequately one of the many blanks on India's ethnographic map. Here we can do no more than mention such interesting traits as the belief in the beneficial influence of a story on the germination of crops, the peculiar role of the *dhavaleri* songs at the marriage ceremony and the magical power of mantras pronounced by *bhagats* and *bhutalis*. Mr. Save deals at length with the interesting institution of *raval*—the initiation into *bhagatship*. The *bhagat* or seer, distinct here as elsewhere in India from the *bhutali*, the black magician, assembles his disciples in some lonely spot outside the precincts of the village and there they learn how 'to get *vare*,' the trancelike state which is the necessary condition for all supernatural communication. The initiates who are required to subject themselves to various restrictions and taboos during the period of tutelage must attend four successive *raval* before they are considered suitable to sit at the feet of a full-fledged *bhagat*. Mr. Save describes the *raval* as "a 'men's house,' a secret society like the *Kwod* of the North American primitives, which no woman or girl could visit," but except for the common training and the subsequent natural feeling of fellowship between *bhagat* in general, there seem to be no bonds to hold the company of the *raval* together, no rules of purpose which bind those initiated in the institution. One would like to know whether

the *raval* is a common institution among other tribes of the locality or whether it is a trait peculiar to the Warlis.

A function separate from the *bhagat*, though often overlapping it, is the hereditary post of *jatela*, lawgiver and conductor of the ritual purification of persons who have offended against the *jat*. The *jatela* is often a member of the *panch* or tribal council which regulates the affairs of the community—among the Warlis a group of villages has roughly five *pancha* or councillors. The *pancha* and the *jatela* are today slowly losing ground and the modern tendency is for people to "run to the village *patel* (Government Officer) to settle their quarrels." The decisions of the village *patel* are taken as government orders, and are obeyed, though non-compliance would not apparently entail the much-dreaded punishment of excommunication, which only the *jatela* or the *panch* can impose.

From the point of view of the social worker, the most important part of Mr. Save's book is the Chapter headed 'Property versus Poverty.' His enquiry into the economic condition of the Warlis reveals the familiar picture of indebtedness, land-shortage, high land-rates, bond service and general economic dependence which we meet in other rural areas where the indigenous tribesmen have been left unprotected from the inroads of more progressive populations. Mr. Save has explored the economic status of the tribesmen with great thoroughness and, on hand of a number of tables, built up a picture of their economic condition. Though the data from which these tables are compiled is rather meagre—85 families out of a population of 124,847—it is, as the author states, fairly representative, being drawn from different areas and various strata of the population.

For purposes of economic statistics, Mr. Save has grouped the tribe into three divisions, the Eastern, the Central and the Coastal regions. In the Eastern area the tribesmen subsist largely by cultivation of dry crops (one would like to know the botanical names of *nagli* and *vari*—probably small millets), communications are bad and there are consequently few sources of non-agricultural income. Here more than 68% of the families investigated are estimated as having an income of below Rs. 100/- a year; in the Central and Coastal regions, on the other hand, rice is an important crop and besides agriculture—be it on their own land or that of a land-owner—the tribesmen engage in such employments as forest work, cart plying and grass cutting; in the Central zone, the percentage of families with incomes below Rs. 100/- falls to 26%, about 73% earning more than Rs. 100/- per annum, but in the Coastal zone it rises again to 50%. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee has estimated the average income of an Indian agriculturist at about Rs. 42/- per annum per capita; Mr. Save estimates that the average Warli's income is Rs. 16-13-8 per annum, both figures applying to pre-1939 conditions.

In an illuminating appendix the author assesses a minimum subsistence budget to be Rs. 102/- per annum for husband, wife and two children, but he demonstrates that in each of his three sectors there are many who do not aspire to even this modest sum. Indeed, without land or cattle of their own, the vast majority of Warlis cannot hope to rise above the bare subsistence level and in the lower income class, two-thirds of the expenditure is on food.

Mr. Save lays the blame for the Warlis' economic condition largely on the habit of toddy drinking. But on his own showing

only 2.2% of income is expended on toddy and palm wine. Though according to the statistics provided the average debt is only 49/- per capita, it is apparently sufficient to keep the Warlis in a general state of dependence on their creditors. While recognizing the difficulties of introducing total prohibition, Mr. Save advocates the closing of liquor-shops in forest areas and anti-liquor propaganda through the medium of schools and lantern slides; but we may ask, would this cut at the root of the problem? Debt reconciliation, the freeing of the bond-servant and improvement of agriculture by co-operative farming might be a more realistic policy. Mr. Save belittles the economic value of the cow to inhabitants of forest areas, because, as he says, the Warlis do not drink milk and have no facilities of selling it. But tribesmen in other forest areas derive a valuable source of income from the manufacture of ghee.

The subject of Warli education, which was included in the original thesis, has, as the author tells us in his preface, been dropped from the book, because "Warli education forms part of the education of the aboriginals in general and should be regarded as a separate subject deserving the attention of educationists." This is a pity. For the experience of the research worker, whether he be sociologist or anthropologist, is of the greatest importance in the formulation of educational methods suitable for backward classes, because he understands their psychological needs and the social and cultural background against which their education must be effected.

Let us hope that in another volume Mr. Save, whose future studies every social worker concerned with aboriginal problems will watch with interest, will give us an account of his experiences as protector of the Thana hill tribes, and that he

will then put forward concrete suggestions for the rehabilitation and economic betterment not only of the Warlis, but of the

other tribal folks with whom they share their habitat.

C. VON FURER-HAIMENDORF.

The Indian Working Class. By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee. Bombay : Hind Kitabs, Publishers. 336 pages : Rs. 12-8-0.

The subject of industrial labour has now come to the forefront in India, yet there is hardly any topic which is oftener discussed with such complete indifference to the real facts of the situation and the vital issues involved. In these circumstances, when there is a supreme need for social scientists to apply themselves to the finding of an effective solution of the problems of labour which, perhaps, is one of the most important determinants of our economic life, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has done a great service by bringing out this book, *The Indian Working Class*. Dr. Mukerjee's knowledge and penetration are outstanding. His long experience in the field of industrial labour, together with his scientific and philosophical mind, enable him to analyse clearly the present perplexing problems of the Indian working class.

This book which undoubtedly is one of the best contributions in the field of industrial labour covers a wide field. The discussion of the different aspects of the Indian working class offers a wealth of information about the difficulties that arise under the present industrial system and how these complex problems must be understood and overcome. Its carefully documented details are in effect a severe indictment of some of the evils present in the existing industrial structure. He deals with methods of recruitment in plantations, mines and factories, conditions of employment, contract labour, woman and child labour, wages, the standard of living,

housing, social welfare and security and trade unionism.

As it is impossible to summarise the book, we can only draw attention to its importance. This book will take its place as a standard work of reference in the field. The worker will find in it a wealth of information presented by a scientific investigator and the employer will discover many glaring facts for a more intelligent approach to his problems and a stern warning that we are no longer living in the good old "Victorian Era." For one thing is clear, viz., that the Indian working class now shows an increased desire to become more efficient and to earn higher wages, as well as a greater intolerance of dangerous and unsatisfactory conditions of work and inadequate housing, poor medical aid and sketchy educational facilities. It demands that its social environment should be such as will enable it to play its due role as citizens of India. The foundations of industrial peace and progress rest on increased efficiency and an improved standard of living and social security for the working class, and enlarged and adequately distributed purchasing power for the entire population. Discontent throws the industrial machinery completely out of gear through chronic disputes and strikes. Only a guarantee of economic rights and liberties of the workers in the manner of Great Britain, U.S.A., and other advanced industrial countries and the planned services of social welfare and security can be solvents of that labour unrest which is so wide-

spread in India, and which so often flares up into "direct action" in our industrial centres. The author hopes that the purpose of this admirable work will be well served if it strengthens these convictions in this country.

This well-written book presenting a remarkable and comprehensive picture of the Indian working class is the outcome of a great effort in gathering facts and figures.

J. J. PANAKAL.

APPENDIX

ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

Case No. 1

A bright young boy of eight was referred to the Clinic for hesitancy in speech and inability to pronounce 'S' which he always pronounced as 'chh,' and when there were joint consonants he took the help of vowels, e.g., school as 'Eschool.' His talk on the whole tended to be babyish. He also paused frequently while he read. Whilst reading his face showed extreme anxiety and he strained every nerve to read correctly which made him extremely tense and excited. He was brought by the mother who was highly strung herself, and showed considerable anxiety about the child's complaint. She said that her younger son spoke very clearly and was much brighter than the patient. She tried to correct his speech by constant nagging and by comparing him unfavourably with the younger brother. Her anxiety and nagging made the matter worse and it was at this stage that the child was referred for treatment. As it was found that the mother's anxiety was communicated to the child, attitude therapy to the mother was undertaken first. It was in the nature of asking her to desist from constantly nagging and correcting the child every time he mis-pronounced or faltered in his speech. She was also instructed not to compare him with the younger brother. She was reassured that the child's condition was a curable one and that there was no cause for anxiety or worry. She was co-operative and carried out the instructions well. At the same time the boy was taught to relax whilst reading and practice was given to pronounce the words with which he had difficulty. He too was reassured that he would be able to overcome this difficulty in no time and that he would

be able to speak like his younger brother. After some time the mother gave up her faulty attitude and gradually in about three months' time it was noticed that there was distinct improvement in the child's speech and he relaxed completely at the time of reading.

Case No. 2

The Principal of a school referred X, an attractive-looking girl of eight, for poor progress in school work, day dreaming, general inactivity and lack of interest. The girls' mother was mainly worried about the child's backwardness in study. She also reported that X bed-wetted and slept too much. This she believed was due to the child's poor health and was anxious that some good tonic be prescribed for her. A medical examination showed that there was nothing wrong with the child's physical condition. Her I. Q. was also found to be normal. The main source of trouble however, was in the faulty attitudes of the parents and elder sister who was eight years older than the patient. Both the parents worried a great deal about her studies as she had shown poor progress in school and the mother particularly urged her constantly to study all the time. Her elder sister gave her lessons at home. X disliked this sister because she dominated over her, and she generally evaded the lessons by sleeping off early and rising late. This sister who was very envious of the younger sister's fair skin took every opportunity to scold and nag her for not studying. The mother was therefore advised to stop the elder sister from giving tuitions to X. The mother who was herself constantly worrying about the girl's studies, was assured that the clinic would undertake to give her tuition and do whatever was

necessary to help the child to progress in her school work. As homework often lead to troubles at home, and any complaints from school regarding poor work resulted in the mother worrying too much, it was arranged with the Principal and the class teacher that all complaints be sent to the clinic and that the child be given as little homework as possible. In spite of all these measures and constant contacts with the mother to carry on attitude therapy to stop her goading the child too much in her studies, there was no appreciable change in the mother's attitude for a long time. The mother, however, tried her best to give all her co-operation. The elder sister was also contacted and her co-operation was won to some extent by treating her for her skin trouble about which she was greatly worried. The child also attended the clinic regularly where she was observed by a play-room worker who encouraged her to play and also helped her in her studies. After nine months' attendance at the clinic the child is free from bed-wetting and has shown progress in school work. She is today an active and sociable child free from the lethargy which she exhibited at the beginning.

Case No. 3

S aged fourteen was referred to the Clinic by a private physician. The father who accompanied the boy reported that he had started stealing at the early age of five and had gone from bad to worse from year to year. The father had severely punished him for stealing and in spite of all his efforts to correct the boy he still continued to steal and he generally stole money which he used for buying eatables. In the beginning stealing was confined to the home. But of late he had started stealing outside also. This troubled the father very much who considered it a disgrace to the family.

Just before he was referred to the Clinic he had forged some receipts and collected money in the name of the school, and used the amount for his personal needs. The school authorities had dismissed him from school. The father was now faced with the problem of deciding about his future. The father was very keen to try Clinic treatment but he admitted that he had adopted very severe methods of punishment because of which the boy was extremely afraid of him. Attempts to improve the relations between the father and son proved a failure. The boy made no secret that his stealing was a revenge on his father. In spite of a number of interviews with the boy of deeper interpretative type of Psychotherapy in the nature of sub-limiting his aggressive tendencies and interpreting his unconscious resentment against his father and authority in general, the boy's stealing did not stop completely. As a last resort he had to be separated from the father as it was very difficult to change the father's attitude towards him in spite of systematic attitude therapy of a deeper psychological nature carried on with the father. Arrangements for the boy's schooling were made in the beginning as he showed keenness to continue his studies. A few months later, as the boy did not show any progress in school work, he was persuaded to take to work. It was soon found out that though the boy showed a desire to work he came in conflict with his employer. With further treatment he was completely cured of his main complaint of stealing, but he is still not able to settle down to any job for a long time.

Case No. 4

A boy aged 10½ years was referred for bedwetting every night. He had stopped bedwetting at normal age but started again some 5-6 months previous to coming to the Clinic. So the mother was advised by

a family case worker to refer the patient to the Clinic. Mother when interviewed seemed to be very anxious to get her son treated. When she was re-assured that her son's problem was a curable one, she was considerably relieved of her anxiety. It was found on investigation that the parents of the patient were strict, especially the father, and that there was parental disharmony at home. Moreover, his elder brother and the patient were in the same class and the patient being cleverer than his brother there was a lot of unhealthy rivalry and jealousy and quarrels on petty matters. The father, an overworked man, used to beat the children on coming home. The child's bedwetting stopped during the vacation when he did not attend school. It also stopped when he went away from his family to stay with some relatives out of Bombay. He seemed to get on well with his teachers in the school. The mother was very cooperative. Social work in the

nature of bringing about a better understanding between mother and father was carried out. It was impressed on them that quarrels between them should be avoided, especially in the children's presence. Then mother was told to send the boy to the Clinic regularly so that he could get an opportunity for play and recreation. Individual psychotherapy to the child of the interpretative type was given in a few interviews. He was also helped in his school lessons. He was provided with opportunities to play so that he could vent out his feelings of aggression. After four months attendance at the Clinic there was a decrease in the frequency of bedwetting. He continued to attend Clinic and after eight months attendance his bedwetting stopped except for occasional lapses. The improvement reported is being kept up, and the boy visits the Clinic once in a while for further treatment.

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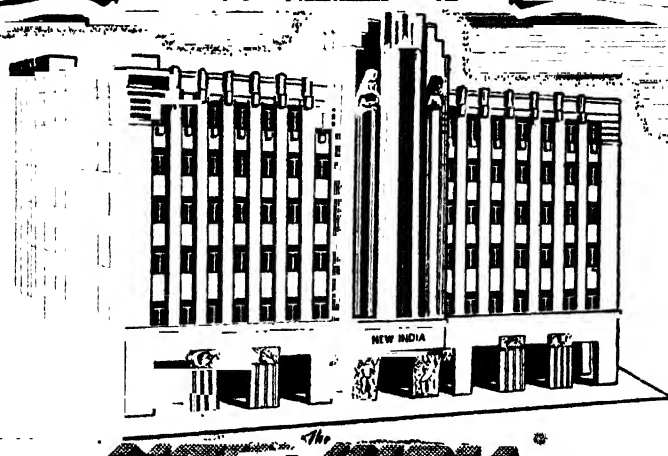
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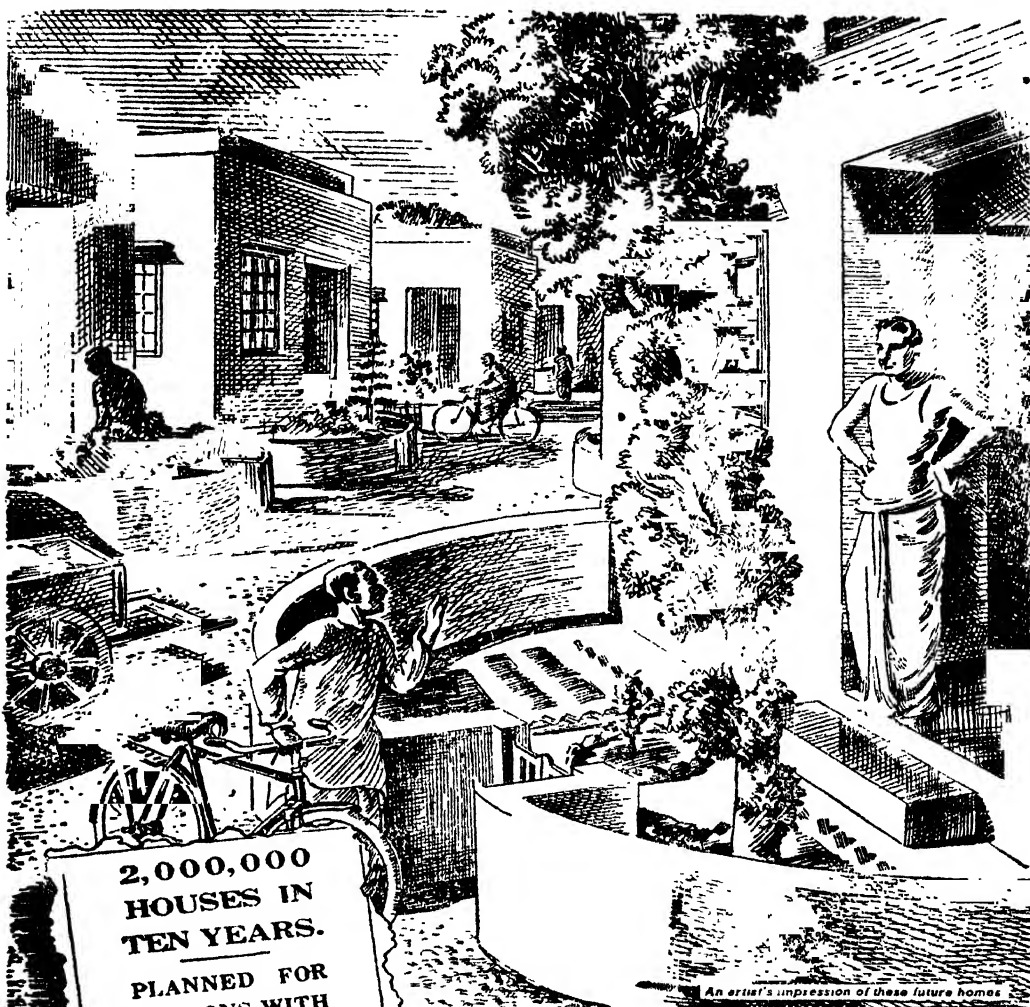
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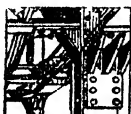
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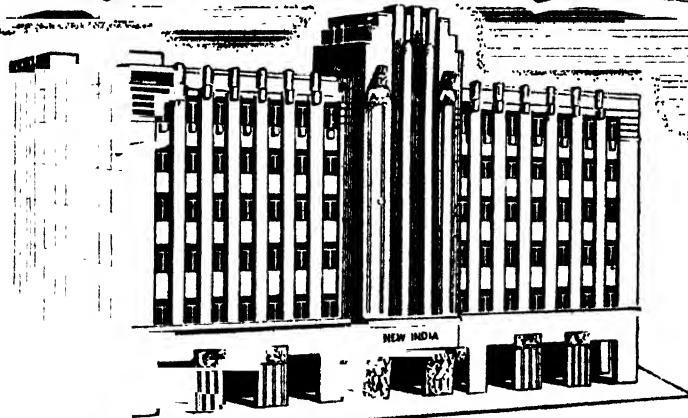
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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume VII

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STRIKES—THEIR CAUSES AND CURE

M. VASUDEVA MOORTHY

Having in the first part of his article given a general survey of strikes as a labour weapon, Dr. Moorthy proceeds to analyse the causes that lead to strikes as well as the ways of preventing strikes. In view of the fact that we have had about 300 strikes within the last six months, this article should be of special interest to our readers as the author suggests that it would be wise to recognise, in the signs of the times, the process of a new social evolution and make necessary adjustments before it is too late.

Dr. Moorthy is a member of the Faculty of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, now on study leave in U. S. A.

Causes of Strikes.—What are the causes for which strikes are usually undertaken in our country? Are the issues involved of such magnitude and complexity that they cannot be solved save by the very delicate and difficult instrument of strike. If one looks into the history of industrial disputes, one will find that, for the most part, strikes are resorted to for reasons falling under five heads: Political, Economic, Personnel Relations, Working Conditions and miscellaneous.

Political Reasons.—Workers stage strikes as a form of protest against any repugnant legislative measure, or against the arrest of a renowned political leader. Strikes are also undertaken as a mark of paying homage to the memory of a departed leader. Such strikes, which should rather be called *hartals*, show the political sympathies of the working classes, and though hardships may be inflicted on industries and society, we are little inclined to blame labour for the spontaneous expression of their civil sentiments. Workers are adults, and man is a political animal. A political action or event of the times is bound to affect the labour directly or indirectly, since labour is one of the important limbs of the body politic. Politics is a part, an important part, of social life. Therefore, it should be considered as a healthy sign that workers express their resentment against or sympathy for any event with which society as a whole is for the moment concerned. Their sympathetic action shows that labour is

alive to the problems of the day and is moving along contemporary trends. India is an ancient nation whose political consciousness is being recently resuscitated; and with an alien government ever ready to exploit and repress her, she has frequent occasions to stage political demonstrations and sometimes even to precipitate a crisis. Therefore, there is nothing surprising that workers too are obsessed with the "political," and show their sympathies through strikes. Such strikes assumed grave proportions during 1928 and 1929, in 1934, 1937, 1938, 1940 and in 1942.

It is sometimes suspected that political strikes are engineered by agitators and that workers are little educated to understand the complicated issues before the country. There is much truth in the statement that our workers are not educated and that many of them suffer from social disabilities. But on that account it cannot be claimed that they have no political consciousness. Gandhiji and the Congress have created a tremendous awakening among the masses and the workers too have been touched by the programme, ideology, and the sacrifices of the Congress. True, there are some misguided leaders amongst labour's ranks who dream, write and talk "red" everywhere! But we cannot speak for certain of the strength of their influence on labour. It may be true that there is a revolutionary party which aims at overthrowing the government by paralysing and capturing trade, transport, communications, industries

and essential services, through the instrumentality of the labour force. This philosophy and technique of achieving revolution through the organized might of labour is nothing new. But, considering the extent of the country and the state of education of our workers, such a revolution seems to be a very remote possibility. Moreover, industrialization, urbanization and development of capitalistic combines are the necessary pre-requisites to provide the atmosphere for such a revolutionary philosophy and programme to be worked out. But, at present, it is quixotic to see in political strikes the possibilities of such a stupendous consummation. Since we cannot develop the trend of this argument here, we shall content ourselves by merely pointing out that the Gandhian economy which is opposed to industrialization, urbanization, and capitalistic combines, is least conducive to the theory of revolution through labour.

Economic Reasons.—Economic reasons play a large part in bringing about strikes. The worker is paid a wage which is hardly adequate to maintain himself and his family in urban surroundings at a subsistence level. He is accustomed, for generations, to an appallingly low standard of life and his wage is quite in consonance with this standard! Whatever may be the enunciations of the various theories of wages, it appears to be a sociological trend that once a particular standard of life and wages mutually agree, both tend to fix themselves at that point and each develops a restraining influence on the other, making any change or improvement difficult. Growing knowledge, the changing outlook, and the sight of the new things of life are calling upon the workers to enter into newer and higher standards of living. But wage is the problem; and there's the rub. The employer is accustomed and committed to the payment of low wage, which,

of course, is the maximum from the employer's point of view; and the entire industrial structure with its free flow of capital is so organized that wages cannot be raised without far-reaching effects in other spheres of markets. Hence, workers legitimately resort to frequent strikes and inflict industrial losses. The relation between wages and strikes is very intimate, as may be judged by the fact that during the quarter ended 30th June 1944, out of 197 stoppages in British India, 111 accounted for disputes relating to wages and 15 to demand for bonuses. This means that sixty-four per cent of the stoppages related to demands of wages and bonuses. If wages are fixed and properly graded according to occupations, experience, place, etc., even before the workers enter into the contract to work, one cannot understand why they should be so often made the *casus belli* between the employer and the employees. The wages in our industries are not yet systematized, but legislative attempts are not being made in that direction. The demand for dearness allowance is a part of the wage question and it relates to special periods of high cost of living. It is not necessary to discuss it separately.

We have seen that the demand for bonus plays no small part in developing strikes. This is an indication that the workers want to have a share in the "profits" of the industry. The argument is that the returns of industries are full of the surplus value which is legitimately due to labour. Industry is a joint adventure and labour has not only mixed but invested its labour in it. Therefore, why should it not claim at least a part of the profits when huge returns are realised and dividends disbursed to distant shareholders? This is a sound argument and is only a form of profit showing. Demands for bonuses are bound to be more clamorous especially during boom periods. The capitalists should see

the reason of the case for the payment of bonus and make such payments a part of the condition of labour contract. Economists should investigate into the impact of bonus payment on prices, investments, interest, etc. On principle, we are afraid, bonus payment may lead the worker to acquire a capitalist mentality, and such a danger should be guarded against.

Personnel Relations.—Strikes due to personnel relations refer to the inability of employers or their agents to manage day to day situations tactfully. Management of industry is an art which rests on the goodwill and co-operation of all the members of the firm. If knowledge, foresight, endurance and diligence are required to organize the material resources of a concern, how much more diligence, endurance, foresight and knowledge are necessary for managing the human elements of the industry! An unnecessary fine or an unwarranted dismissal of a worker may lead to resentment on the part of his comrades; a harsh word or discipline severely enforced is not appreciated by the workers. Yet, these measures alone, when adopted by many an overbearing *mukaddam* or jobber, are enough to plunge a group of workers or a department or even the entire factory into a strike. As the Royal Commission on Labour in India observes in its report in this respect: "Much more serious, from the point of view of labour, is the tendency for managers to delegate some of their functions to subordinates and to interpose unreliable links between themselves and their men. We have already dealt with the power possessed by Sardars, Mukaddams and other chagemen or foremen, who are too often able even to dismiss and engage workers. As a rule, the management depends on such men both for its knowledge of the minds and desires of the employees, and for the interpretation to them of its own orders.

Where this is a practice, it is almost impossible for the management to reach any stable understanding with the workers."* To bridge the distance between the employer and employee and bring about better understanding, the Commission recommended the appointment of Labour Officers. Labour Officers and Welfare Officers are being now appointed by many large firms; but their functions are not properly defined. Moreover, most of the men are not adequately trained in the difficult and complex science of management of human relations. Since they are the paid servants of the managers, they are not free to work uninfluenced by their employers. Therefore, the remarks of the Commission still hold good: "We believe that an important factor at work in creating industrial unrest in India is the lack of contact which too often exists between employers and employed."

Other issues which may be included under this section and which depend on mutual goodwill and understanding for their solution are rules and regulations governing employer-employee relations.

Working Conditions.—Some of the important causes relating to working conditions which are made the issues of strikes are: shift-working, hours of work, holidays, state and nature of the machinery, rationalization of processes, etc. Any change or alteration in these which is not liked by workers leads to disputes and sometimes workers themselves may desire a change in the working conditions which the management may not be prepared to effect. Such causes of disputes are also numerous and depend on the nature, extent and organization of the industry.

Miscellaneous.—There may be many other issues which are not directly connected with industrial matters but are

now and then made the basis of strikes. Such, for instance, is the worker's demand for the use of any premises in the possession of the manager for purposes of recreation or worship. Demands of items of welfare work, inside or outside the workplace, like canteen and health services, housing, cost-price grain shops, etc., may also be mentioned under this category.

Clearly, the possibilities of dispute between employer and employees leading to a strike on the part of the latter are infinite and manifold. Life is dynamic and

situations are changing. So also the causes of disputes are ubiquitous and protean, now showing themselves here in one form, then in another aspect, and yet later in some other shape. Industrial relations are human relations; therefore, the manifestations of contexts are varied and subtle. In the light of our foregoing analysis the following list of stoppages in industries in several places and the causes of such stoppages will make interesting reading. The list gives stoppages during one month only, i.e., October 1945.

<i>Industry (or occupation) and locality</i>	<i>No. of workers directly and indirectly involved</i>	<i>Cause</i>
Cotton Mills :—		
Bengal—1 Mill	750	Demand for pay for days of the last strike.
Bombay—7 Mills	111	Demand for re-instatement of a head jobber.
	375	Demand for re-instatement of eight dismissed workers.
	291	Demand for the same rate of wages for 20s as for 22.
	700	Demand for declaration of a specific date for payment of compensatory allowance.
	650	Demand for payment of "Victory Bonus" not later than 3rd November 1945.
	100	Demand for bonus equal to 20% of the workers' annual wages.
	118	Demand for cancellation of the suspension order against an operative of the Folding Department.
Woollen Mills :—		
Bengal—1 Mill	100	Demand for cancellation of the order requiring workers to take passes for emergency purposes before leaving the factory during working hours.
Silk Mills :—		
Bengal—3 Mills	460	Demand for one month's wages as "Victory Bonus."
	150	Demand for continuance of the special wages of As. 2 per day to workers in the proofing department for doing urgent war work.
	419	Demand for one month's wages as "Victory Bonus."

<i>Industry (or occupation) and locality</i>	<i>No. of workers directly and indirectly involved</i>	<i>Cause</i>
Jute Mills :—		
Bengal—1 Mill	500	Protest against the appointment of Head Sardar in the Hessian Department.
Railways :—		
U. P.—1 Undertaking	100	Protest against the action of a Sub-Inspector who had beaten a coolie.
Engineering :—		
Bengal—6 Undertakings	700	Demand for Pujah bonus.
	400	Demand for Pujah bonus.
	700	Demand for Pujah bonus, increased dearness allowance, provident fund, leave, etc.
	600	Demand for Pujah bonus, and cash compensation for reduction in the quantity of mustard oil supplied at concession rates since introduction of rationing.
	264	Protest against reduction in wages.
	100	Demand for increased bonus.
Bombay—4 Undertakings	600	Demand for bonus and increased wages and for the withdrawal of notice of discharge served on 112 workers.
	850	Demand for "Victory Bonus".
	1,500	Demand for one month's extra wages, 13 day's previous notice and leave with pay before discharge, gratuity at the rate of one month's wages per year of service, etc.
	480	Demand for one month's wages as "Victory Bonus".
Bihar—1 Undertaking	757	Demand for change of working timing by fifteen minutes.
Madras—1 Undertaking	163	Refusal to work on Sunday (14-10-45) in lieu of Monday (15-10-45) which was declared a holiday.
Miscellaneous :—		
Bengal—7 Undertakings	800	Protest against the alleged assault of a packer by the Sales Manager.
	150	Demand for Pujah bonus, and protest over reduced wages, discharge of Mechanical Engineer, etc.
	275	Demand for Pujah bonus.

<i>Industry (or occupation) and locality</i>	<i>No. of workers directly and indirectly involved</i>	<i>Cause</i>
	265	Demand for payment of arrears of wages at increased rates and dearness allowance at the Calcutta Corporation rates.
	1,500	Demand for bonus for compensation.
	1,239	Grievances against a member of the staff.
	250	Demand for bonus and "Victory bakshis".
Bombay—11 Undertakings	300	Demand for reinstatement of three discharged clerks.
	150	Demand for uniform work to all workers.
	1,324	Demand for one month's wages as "Victory Bonus" as declared by the Millowners' Association, Bombay.
	900	Demand for removal of a stable supervisor for assaulting a worker.
	200	Demand for continuance of the old rate of stitching charges.
	225	Demand for one month's wages as "Victory Bonus".
	1,000	Demand for "Victory Bonus" of one month's wages as was granted to the textile workers of Bombay.
	350	Demand for one month's wages as "Victory Bonus", etc.
	165	Demand for restoration of the cut of As. 2 in wages.
	273	Demand for immediate issue of "Victory Bonus" tickets.
	3,000	Demand for a holiday on 21st October.
Bihar—2 Undertakings	168	Protest against discharge of a worker for unsatisfactory work.
	250	Protest against the suspension of a worker, etc.
Madras—1 Undertaking	904	Demand for increased wages, bonus, reinstatement of discharged workers, etc.
U. P.—2 Undertakings	1,100	Demand for one month's pay as "Victory Bonus."
	200	Demand for increased wages.

The question now remains : Is there any way by which strikes can be prevented? Though strikes have their uses and abuses, it is not desirable that they should be resorted to if the differences that arise from time to time between employer and his employees could be settled by other methods. Human relations cannot, for all time, be based on perfect amity and goodwill ; and it is but natural that they should give rise to differences now and then. Industrial relations are but human relations in a context. If amongst the members of a family, intimately knowing one another for generations and connected by ties of kinship, differences of desires and opinions arise occasionally, it is nothing surprising that in the industrial family which is yet a social institution in the becoming, differences amongst the members do frequently arise. The industrial family of the size and on the scale now being realised is a new conception and a new phenomenon. It is yet in the making. Therefore industrial differences are only the index of the imperfection of the new family. But differences need not develop into disputes in all cases* and actually they do not do so. Even when they do, many disputes are from time to time settled without resort to strikes.

There are three ways of preventing strikes : (1) through mutual settlement, (2) through legislative machinery and (3) by changing the industrial system. These methods have been tried with varying success in one country or another ; in India too, the workers, the employers and the Government have been seriously attempting for the last three decades to evolve a device whereby strikes can be minimized, and if possible, completely eliminated. The first two methods seek to avoid strikes through a machinery created within the existing industrial organization, while the last one aims at the root of the problem and seeks to radically alter the system.

Mutual Settlement.—It will be readily conceded that mutual goodwill between parties is the *sine qua non* of peace between them in any field of life. And mutual goodwill is generally the result of frequent contact, discussion and understanding. Therefore, it is first essential to create in the industries an atmosphere wherein disputes thrive least. The impersonalization of industries is not a little responsible for dehumanizing labour and capital, thus making suspicion and conflict between them the rule, and sympathy and co-operation the exception. Personal relations between the two should be re-established in every way possible. A revised outlook and a well-manned labour office will go a long way in dissipating industrial antagonism and providing for healthier relations.

The details concerning this outlook, the requisite personnel and their activities are outside the purview of our present discussion.

Even after the atmosphere of sympathy and goodwill is created, disputes may arise sometimes, and a machinery is needed to settle these. The works committees have been found to be useful in such situations. The works committees are bodies composed of the elected representatives of labour and management.* Every firm or industry or a locality may have its own works committee. Usually the committees have a majority of workers' representatives elected by secret ballot,—the qualification for voting being that a person should have put in at least a year's service. The tenure of office of the committee members may be a year or two, as the case may be. The function of the works committee is to investigate into any scheduled disputes or into any kind of disputes which may arise between the workers, or between the workers and the employers. The committee may function as an investigating and an advisory body, and in some instances may also have the

power to select arbitrators and refer disputes to them. The constitution and composition of the works committees differ from province to province and from industry to industry. According to the Royal Commission on Labour in India, the Government of India started joint committees in their presses as early as 1920 and about the same time Messrs. Tata and Sons Ltd. at Jamshedpur formed similar bodies. Later, works committees were instituted in railways and in large textiles in Bengal, Madras, U.P. and in Bombay. The system evolved at Ahmedabad is said to be remarkable and its working thoroughly satisfactory. In this regard, the description of the Ahmedabad system, as given by the Government of Bombay and cited by the Royal Commission, is worth quoting in full : "In the Ahmedabad cotton mill industry it has been mutually agreed between the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the Ahmedabad Labour Union that all grievances should, in the first instance, be discussed between the workers themselves and the managements of the mills concerned. If any worker has a grievance he reports to a member of the council of representatives from his mill. The member speaks to the head of the department and the agent of the mill, if necessary. If the grievance is not redressed, a formal complaint is recorded with the Labour Union. The Labour Union official—usually the secretary or the assistant secretary—goes to the mill, ascertains the correctness of the complaint and requests the mill officer or the agent to redress the grievance. If no settlement is arrived at during this stage the matter is reported by the Labour Union to the Millowners' Association. The Secretary of the Millowners' Association speaks to the mill concerned and tries to settle the matter amicably. The procedure in connection with grievances of a general nature

referring to several mills or several workers in a mill is also similar. If the workers do not get redress after the matter has been discussed between the Millowners' Association and the Labour Union, the matter is finally referred to the Permanent Arbitration Board".*

The success of the Ahmedabad scheme is attributed to the regional peculiarities of Gujarat and to the tremendous moral influence and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Even today, the personality of Gandhiji is a force to be reckoned with and there is not a major labour dispute which is not referred either to him or his lieutenants. Though it has not been possible to do similar good work in other provinces, many industrial concerns have set up their own works committees. In India, where the *panchayat* system has been worked for centuries, it should not be difficult to organize successfully works committees along similar lines in various industries and localities. Yet so far, the committees are failures and they have not justified the expectations. The failure is mainly due to lack of proper industrial leadership. We believe, the works committee system is full of potentialities and deserves to be adequately explored by wider and more intense application. If it is organized on perfectly democratic principles and led by sincere men, we see little reason why it should fail. The works committees should play a larger and a more useful part in the industrial life of the future. The works committee system has the advantages of offering opportunities for mutual discussions and settlement with the least possible interference from outsiders. Moreover, any settlement is lasting only when it is voluntary and based on goodwill. The idea of settlement of disputes through committees is very old and is suited to the genius of India. Even in many villages, such committees in the form of *panchayats*

do exist and it is a healthy sign that the new *kisan* movement is revitalizing this village institution. Recently in Mannargudi, in Madras, the Agriculturists' Welfare Association is to form conciliation committees in villages and to eliminate outside interference in agricultural disputes.*

Legislative Machinery.—Legislative enactment absolutely banning strikes is not desirable as that takes away labour's only right to work or not to work according to its own will. During emergencies like war, the State has exercised its might to conscript labour and ban strikes by declaring them to be illegal. This step may apparently seem to be necessary in the interests of production and unhampered prosecution of the war. But strikes cannot be prevented by their being declared illegal. If tens of thousands of workers go on strikes declared to be illegal, all of them stand to be prosecuted and it introduces a situation which is economically serious, socially absurd and legally comic.

Therefore, what the State can do is to regulate and postpone strikes, providing, in the interim, machinery for negotiation and conciliation. This is just what the Trade Disputes Act of 1929, (made permanent in 1934 and amended in 1938) seeks to do. In case of industrial disputes reaching a head, the Act provides for the appointment of a Court of Enquiry, or a Board of Conciliation. The first investigates into matters pertaining to the dispute and reports its findings to the Government, and the second helps the parties with advice to come to a settlement. The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938 (amended upto 1941) provides for a more elaborate machinery for settlement of disputes, though along similar lines indicated in the Trade Disputes Act. The Bombay Act first of all provides that disputes be represented by properly constituted labour unions; and for this purpose

it contemplated three types of unions. Secondly, it schedules industrial matters into two types, one concerning standing rules and day to day relations, and the other, industrial matters which are likely to lead to disputes. An elaborate procedure is prescribed, to be gone through by the parties, if they desire a "change" in the scheduled matters which are legally taken to be "settled." The Act seeks to standardize and to stabilize certain labour conventions and matters which usually obtain in the industrial world so that disputes regarding these may not arise with vexatious frequency. The Act also provides for the Board of Conciliation, the Industrial Court and Arbitration and award. It is unnecessary to go into details concerning these. It may only be mentioned that no finding of any of these bodies is finally binding on the parties, and what they secure is merely adoption of reasonable methods of settlement and postponement of the immediate strike.

Though the Trade Disputes Act and the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act are not successful measures, they are not without their advantages. Even mere postponement of a strike, or what may be called an industrial truce, may lead to a healthier atmosphere for discussion and negotiation, and may be a prelude to a more lasting settlement. The State interferes only when the workers and their employers fail to arrive at an agreement amongst themselves. Even then, the interference of the State is merely to help the evolving of a settlement. No settlement can be worth the name when it is forced on the parties by a third power.

Changing the System.—The most radical method of rooting out the possibilities of strikes is by altering the character of the industrial system. The present organization is based on the principles of *laissez faire*,

* *The Hindu* P. 8 (9-1-46).

profit and devil catch the weaker. In a system based on mutual exploitation and competition the claim for rights is bound to be clamorous and unending. The foundation of profit is unequal exchange ; and unequal exchange is due to inequality of opportunity, varying talents, diversity of needs, and so on. Clearly, the juxtaposition of poverty and riches, whatever may be the reason for the phenomenon, is repugnant to the changing ideas of social justice. But capitalism thrives only on inequality and appropriation. And appropriation leads to poverty and riches. Labour discontent is symptomatic of the new disgust towards the old philosophy of capitalism. The leviathan has come into its own consciousness and refuses to be drugged any further. Therefore, conflict is bound to be inevitable as long as capital and labour are opposed. May not socialism or communism or some kind of co-operative collectivism be a better alternative to the existing system of economy ? Any system of economy where-in the gulf between labour and capital is the least, promises to minimize strikes, if not eliminate them and assures a smooth working of the complex organization.

The other alternative is to de-industrialize and take to handicrafts where individuals or units of families or, may be, groups of individuals, will be masters of their own tools and will manage their own production and distribution. Such a system, no doubt, is ideal and will completely eliminate strikes, besides abolishing many of the evils of the capitalist system. It is claimed by many nationalists that such a de-industrialization which is best suited to the genius of India will lead to widespread employment, development

of the human personality and mutual goodwill, besides being a powerful weapon in putting an end to the economic and political domination of India by Britain.

Yet another alternative is to decentralize industries and organize them into smaller units, owned and run by workers themselves. The scale on which industries are organized today requires huge amounts of capital which is beyond the reach of workers to amass. If plants are reduced to smaller size and distributed over wider areas, they can be co-operatively owned by labour and easily managed by themselves. True, such a system will mean duplication of industries and waste of power and unnecessary expansion of transport. Also it will lead to high costs and high prices. But it is not without advantages in that it will secure wider employment and eliminate urban congestion and slums.

To conclude: whatever be the choice regarding the alternative economies, the present industrial system should be radically revised and controlled. Disputes are inherent in the capitalist system and strikes are only one mode of expressing labour's attitude towards the industrial organization. Concentrate and impoverish the workers, they will perforce become hardened and will be organized. Penalise strikes, they are bound to remanifest themselves in another aspect, more ghastly. The days when employers exploited their slaves with impunity have disappeared to return never. We would be wiser to recognize, in the signs of the times, the process of a new social evolution and make necessary adjustments before it is too late.

WOMEN WORKERS IN THE COIR INDUSTRY

MRS. THANKAM KURUP

This is a detailed survey of the working conditions and life in general of a representative section of women workers in the coir factories at Alleppy. It also shows how by improving their economic, sociological and emotional conditions, a better working class society may be evolved with resultant good to the country as a whole.

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The study of any problem relating to labour conditions in every country is essentially a study of human welfare in its broadest sense. Hence the following enquiry about 150 women workers in the coir industry of Messrs. Darrah Ismail & Co. at Alleppy attempts to study the economic, mental and emotional conditions of these women, and to show how by improving these conditions a better working class society may be evolved. Such a study is interesting for two reasons—first, because the coir industry occupies a position midway between a cottage industry and the large-scale industry; and secondly, because coir workers at Alleppy are more rural than urban and their needs and problems are to a large extent different from those of workers in big cities.

Alleppy derives its importance from the fact that it is the world's supplier of coir-matting and coir yarn. It is also a manufacturing town, the predominant industry being the manufacture of the products of coir yarn. The making of coir yarn as carried out on the coastal strips of Travancore forms an ideal cottage industry, but the making of coir yarn into a finished product is a factory process. The separation of the fibre from the husk is almost exclusively done by women in their homes. The spinning of the fibre into yarn is also in the main the work of the women folk. Indeed, women play a vital part in the early stages of the manufacture of coir products; their skill is also found suitable for the

more specialised processes in the factory. In 1941, there were about 50 factories at Alleppy, employing over 5000 workers, out of whom 700 were women. The particular factory which I investigated had about 6000 workers of which 450 were women.

The nature of the work done by these women may be briefly described. The first step is to open the bundles of yarn and spread them out in the sun to dry. Next comes "separation," which consists in the grading of the dried yarn into different qualities according to the thickness of the yarn. This done, there is "rehanking," which is the word used for converting the original hanks of various qualities of yarns, differing in size, length, etc., into one hank of specified weight (3 to 4 lbs.), the end of each piece of yarn being sliced. As yarn is separated, sorted and rehanked, another set of women workers weigh and carry them to the godowns. A portion of this graded and rehanked yarn is made into bales for export and the rest is sent to the weaving factory for being made into mats, matting and the numerous other articles which are made out of coir. Another piece of work in which women are engaged in good numbers is the making of coir fenders for use on ships.

A few observations may be made on the foregoing description of their work. It is not such as to place any undue physical strain upon them, though the first two processes involve their standing in the sun

for long hours. An interesting fact about the employment of women in this industry is that the jobs assigned to them at the factory are complementary to those assigned to men. Although much technical and mechanical skill is not involved in the performance of her task, the woman worker has to possess a certain amount of specialized knowledge of her trade so as to be able to do her work efficiently. These women workers are well-organised and are members of the Travancore Coir Factory Workers' Union, which is a weapon of considerable power for the men workers

who make no bones about utilising the unionism of their women comrades in driving bargains with the employers. The present position of women labour is that the supply exceeds the demand and they have to come daily to the factory gates and wait for hours in the hope of being taken in for some employment. The less remunerative nature of the job of making coir yarn in the home prompts women to flock in increasing numbers to the factories in the town. The distribution of these women according to age, civil status and religion is given below :—

Age		Civil Status		Religion	
Age group	No. of women	Civil condition	No. of women	Religion	No.
15—20	16	Unmarried	24	Christians	104
21—30	43	Married	100	Hindus	44
31—40	51	Widowed	26	Mohamedans	2
41—50	26				
51—60	11				
61—70	3				
Total	150		150		150

Wages, Hours of Work and Working Conditions.—We may now consider the question of wages, hours of work and working conditions. The following statement by one of the leading firms of Alleppy may be taken as typical of the manner in which well-conducted large factories arrive at their wage rates :—“ We fix the rate for piece work bearing in mind the necessity for labour to earn what seems to us to be a minimum living wage. The minimum has never been scientifically examined, but we like to see our men earn not less than 8 annas a day when full work is available, and all our rates enable a man to earn at least this sum, if they attend the work regularly and punctually and work industriously.

In actual fact, many of our rates enable our labourers to earn far more than this self-fixed minimum wage.”* As wages are paid on piece-work basis, the question of having differential wage rates for men and women does not arise, for both earn according to the amount of work they do. Once in a year, during Christmas or some other festive occasion, labourers are paid a bonus varying from a day's wage to five days' wages depending upon their length of service and such other considerations. The wages paid are smaller than would be prescribed on considerations of social equity or economic justice. The wage distribution of the 150 women workers is shown in the following table :—

* Report of the Board of Conciliation of Trade Disputes in the Mats and Matting Industry (1939).

Wages per day in annas	Number of women
3—4	6
4—5	25
5—6	58
6—7	23
7—8	5
8—9	9
9—10	5
10—11	0
11—12	15
12—13	1
13—14	3
	—
Total	150

Wages are paid every week and in cash, which would seem to be according to the recommendation made by the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India.

As regards hours of work, the women workers in Messrs. Darrah Ismail & Co. work daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. with an interval of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours between 12-30 and 2 p.m. The actual working hours thus come to only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per day or 39 per week. The Travancore Factories Act restricts the number of working hours for adults to 54 per week and 10 per day. In the case of women no exemptions can be granted to this rule. It should be noted, however, that an industrial undertaking to come under the definition of a "Factory" under the Act must use mechanical or electrical power and employ 20 persons or more. The Factory in which the present investigation was carried out employs about 600 men and women, but as it does not use power the Factories Act does not apply to it. All the same the hours of work in the particular factory under investigation were quite reasonable.

Statutory protection is afforded only to those workers who are employed in factories coming under the Factories Act. We remarked above that women employed

in the processes of opening and drying have to work long hours in the sun, but there is no alternative possible, unless the same worker is given two kinds of jobs during the same day, one being the work mentioned above and the other some kind of job that may be performed in the shade. The other processes are carried out in sheds. Ventilation therein is quite satisfactory, except that a lot of coir dust is produced in the course of the operations which fills the atmosphere. Sanitary conditions are not perfect, the reason being partly the unclean habits of the women themselves who chew beetles and tobacco and spit all over the place, and make their babies answer calls of nature in the same place. There are 2 latrines and 4 urinals for 450 women workers. This number falls sadly short of the minimum required under the Factories Act, but the State authorities cannot intervene as this factory does not fall within the purview of the Act. Arrangements for the supply of drinking water as well as washing arrangements are more or less satisfactory. Accidents are fortunately rare. The spaciousness of the factory premises makes the lot of the coir worker in the unregulated factories bearable. On the whole, therefore, conditions in this particular factory are fairly satisfactory, though there is room for more improvements. It would seem desirable that all establishments in the coir-manufacturing industry employing more than a certain number of workers should be brought under the Factories Act, irrespective of whether they use power or not, for ensuring satisfactory working conditions.

Health and Welfare.—The creche is something unknown in the coir-factories at Alleppy and, as a consequence, women workers who have infants and young children to look after bring them along to the factory where they are put to bed in all sorts of places, some in improvised cradles

and others on the ground. The Royal Commission on Labour recommended that the obligation of providing creches should be made a statutory one in all factories employing not less than 250 women. Regarding medical aid, the employees of Darrah Ismail & Co. get free medical advice, but they have to pay for the medicines purchased, which renders this facility of doubtful utility. Every factory has first-aid arrangements and has to maintain the necessary equipments for the purpose. Canteens for providing food at reasonable cost are unknown except in a factory belonging to Pierce Lesley & Co. Refreshment sheds where the women (and the men also) might take the food they bring with them are also not commonly found. Women workers in many of the coir factories do not enjoy the advantages conferred by the Maternity Benefit Act, as these factories do not come under the Factories Act. They have in many cases to cover a distance of about 7 miles daily, and for this purpose they do not have any modern transport facility.

Service conditions in many of the factories depend on the arbitrary will and pleasure of the employer. Some 56% of the women workers have put in between 5 and 15 years of service and others as many as 45 years of service. Still the workers are not entitled to sick and casual leave, holidays with pay, gratuity after a period of service and similar privileges. An exception is Darrah Ismail & Co., where all workers, the daily rated and the monthly rated, are given pension when they are permitted to retire after a period of satisfactory service. Women workers employed in the coir industry do not in general contract any disease because of such employment. The only recreation they enjoy, if it can be called recreation, is to chat with their neighbours during their leisure period.

All the coir factory workers at Alleppy,

including the women, are members of the Travancore Coir Factory Workers' Union and take an active interest in its affairs. In order to settle amicably any dispute that arises between the workers and the factory owners, an Industrial Relations Committee has been set up with representatives of the employers and workers serving on it. Welfare work among the workers in general and women workers in particular may be said to be practically non-existent. In one factory there is a labour welfare officer and a lady assistant, but the amount of welfare work done seems to be small. The fact is that it is much more difficult to organize welfare work among a semi-rural population of industrial workers than to organize such work among town-dwellers, but it is none the less necessary.

Income, Expenditure and Indebtedness.—An attempt was made to get the family budgets of the 150 women workers. Though co-operation was easily forthcoming, the figures sampled may not always be very accurate because most of the workers could give only approximate estimates of their expenditure on different items. The average monthly expenditure of a family (consisting of an average of 4 members) is given below :—

Item of Expenditure	Monthly Expenditure			Percentage of Total Expenditure
	Rs.	as.	ps.	
Food	21	2	2	78.9%
Fuel	1	4	6	4.8%
Clothing	2	0	11	7.7%
Rent	0	12	6	3.0%
Miscellaneous	1	7	11	5.6%
Total	26	12	0	100.0%

The high percentage of expenditure on food is characteristic of all poor class family budgets, but 80% seems to be much too high. The percentage of expenditure

on miscellaneous items is only 5.6% which is far too low.

In discussing the family expenditure of these women workers, it should be borne in mind that there are in some cases other earning members than the woman herself. The distribution of family income is shown below :—

Income group in Rs.	No. of families	
0—10	3	
11—20	27	
21—30	48	
31—40	35	Average=26.6.
41—50	20	Standard deviation
51—60	8	=14.1.
61—70	5	
71—80	2	
81—90	1	
91—100	1	

Total 150

Most of the women have some subsidiary occupation or other. The most popular occupation is that of making eatables and selling them either at home to the public or to co-workers within the factory.

The following table shows the distribution of the monthly earnings of 150 women workers at Alleppy :—

Total monthly income in Rupees	No. of women	
5—10	15	
11—15	76	Average 14
16—20	42	
21—25	15	
26—30	2	
Total	150	

Regular saving out of the weekly wages is not very common. There are

women who make weekly contributions out of wages to a kind of savings called "Chitties" which accumulates and produces Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 in the course of a year. In many cases this involves simultaneous borrowing to meet other expenses. The following table shows the distribution of monthly savings of 150 women workers :—

Monthly savings in Rupees	Number of women
Nil	117
Less than 5	31
5—10	2
Total	150

Money lenders have no hold over them as borrowings are made from co-workers, who are in a position to lend, or petty shop-keepers from whom they purchase provisions on credit. Indebtedness of these women is as follows :—

Debt in Rupees	No. of women
Nil	60
Less than 5	11
5—10	18
11—15	15
16—20	12
21—25	11
26—30	3
31—35	7
36—40	3
41—45	2
46—50	1
Over 50	7
Total	150

Though the amounts shown in the above table are fairly high compared to the income of the women, they need not be considered as symptomatic of any deep-seated cause except that their monthly earnings are inadequate to meet their daily needs.

Home Life.—I paid personal visits to the homesteads of the workers. All the houses were thatched hutments made of bamboo and cocoanut palm and thatched with plaited cocoanut leaves, containing on an average 2 to 3 rooms and with walls mostly made of mud and bamboo. They offer little protection from the sun and the rain. Particularly during the monsoon rainwater comes into the rooms of the houses that have not been reconditioned

and newly thatched, driving out the inhabitants to neighbouring houses. The earth being loose and sandy, the construction of good stone houses would be a costly affair. The large open spaces prevent the problem of overcrowding from arising at all.

The following tables give the number of rooms per house occupied by the workers and the number of inmates per house, including grown-ups and children :—

No. of rooms per house	No. of houses	No. of inmates per house	No. of houses
1	6	1	6
2	66	2	12
3	71	3	25
4	5	4	46
5	2	5	24
		6	18
		7	9
		8	8
		9	2
Total	150	Total	150

Sanitary arrangements are none too perfect. The compounds are generally kept neat and clean. There are no latrines and calls of nature are answered in any convenient place hidden from the public eye. The Travancore Coir Factory Workers' Union can remedy this by carrying on a lot of educative propaganda to see that modern sanitary ideals are well impressed on the minds of workers and particularly on the minds of women.

Outside the town there is no protected water supply. People living at convenient distances get water from the taps, others get it from tanks specially set aside for the purpose. As the water is none too good, it causes diseases such as filariasis. A protected water supply system is therefore essential for the health of these people.

In almost all families the income being quite inadequate to meet the monthly expenditure, the food eaten is neither wholesome nor sufficient in quantity. The introduction of rationing has changed the entire situation. The rice to which people are accustomed is not obtainable in sufficient quantities and in its place bajra, cumbu and wheat are given in strictly limited quantities. Tea and coffee are consumed and jaggery is used in the place of sugar which has become scarce. The drink habit is fairly common among the men workers and not quite unknown among the women.

Women leave their children at home to take care of themselves when they go to their factory for work. Hence, they are generally unclean. Most of the

women workers with whom I came into contact were married young. The tables below give the age at the time of marriage, the number of living children and the num-

ber of children dead, still-born, etc. for the 126 married women out of the 150 women workers :—

Age at marriage	No. of women	No. of children	No. of women	Description	No.	Percentage to total born
Below 15 years	35	Nil	{ 24 20	Total children born	513	.
15—20	82	1	30	Premature	39	7.6
20—25	9	2	27	Still-born	14	2.7
Unmarried	24	3	24	Dead	174	34.1
		4	9	Living .	286	55.6
		5	7			
		6	5			
		7	3			
		8	1			
Total	150		150			

The usual attitude of fatalism characteristic of every Indian also prevails among these workers. Hunger has prepared a favourable ground for the growth of socialistic and communistic ideas. Nevertheless there is a good deal of *esprit de corps* among the women workers and communal differences do not spoil the cordiality of their relationship. In spite of all their grievances and difficulties, they manage to keep a surprisingly cheerful attitude towards everything. This is a good sign and augurs well for the future generation of workers.

Some Theoretical Considerations.—Industrialisation is a comparatively modern phase in the history of civilisation, and the factor of women in industries is still more modern. Four main causes attracted women to the factories. First, there is the economic advantage. Woman's entry into industry not only increases the family income, but also raises the status of women. Secondly, employers themselves have discovered

that women are best fitted for certain jobs in the factory that require practice and dexterity as, for instance, drying, separating, rehanding, etc. in the coir industry. A third reason is that by employment in the factories, women find themselves working side by side with their husbands and brothers. Lastly, there is the personal factor of desire for economic independence. India, slow moving though it is, has over one million women in organized industries, even according to the 1931 census,* but the number must have considerably increased since then.

What are the repercussions of the employment of women in industries? The first effect is on children. Left to themselves, after their parents have gone to work, they learn bad habits, seek amusement and recreation in bad company and imbibe delinquent tendencies. Apart from this, the mother perforce neglects the child. This brings one to the possibilities

*Industrial Labour in India. I.L.D. 1938.

of domestic pathology. Finding hardly anything desirable in the company of an exhausted worker-wife after having himself worked the whole day in the factory, the worker seeks substitute channels of recreation and pleasure in alcoholism, gambling, prostitution and other social vices which in the long run seriously affect family relationships. A third important problem that is partly a product of the existence of a working class female population is the moral laxity of the individual and of society at large. The congestion of the dwelling-place, physical contacts with the opposite sex in work-life and, above all, close proximity to temptations coupled with indifferent husband-wife relationships soon lead the woman to immoral conduct.

It is the duty of industrial concerns to provide a prescribed minimum of welfare projects to their women workers. Maternity clinics, creches and an adequate number of leisure hours for attending to domestic duties are absolutely necessary. The State should see that these amenities are required by law and further that legislation, once it is passed, is strictly enforced. This brings us to the role of trade unions in advancing the cause of women workers. The fact is that trade unions in India have deplorably lagged behind in relation to the female complement on their rolls. The best thing, therefore, to be done is for women themselves to secure adequate numerical strength and a just representation in the trade unions in order to put forth their claims effectively. In addition to this, I would urge that special welfare schemes be inaugurated for women workers—schemes that are suitable for the women concerned after giving due consideration to the stage of development, social and educational, which each class of women workers has reached.

Towards a Better Social Structure.—From an age in which labour was looked

upon as a commodity to be purchased in the cheapest market and labourers were treated as dumb driven cattle, we are entering into an era in which labourers are coming to be treated as human beings with rights and privileges. This has brought about a better appreciation of the prime needs of employees which are food, clothing, housing and transport. Other needs of workers are :—

- (a) *Leisure.*—In any scheme of satisfactory employment for labourers, the provision of adequate leisure is an imperative necessity. Leisure rightly occupied adds to the growth of a man's or woman's personality. It is therefore necessary not only to ensure that the workers get adequate leisure, but also to help them plan the utilisation of their spare time to the maximum advantage. The inculcation of right habits in this regard in the worker is a duty of welfare organizers and social workers.
- (b) *Literacy.*—Any advancement in the condition of the working classes can come only as a result of their realisation of their present depressed condition. In order that this realisation may be keen and insistent, they should have enough education to correctly understand their plight. The improvement of literacy of the working classes in India is therefore one of the pressing needs in the evolution of a progressive industrial community.
- (c) *Health.*—One of the results of the employment of men and women in large numbers in modern factories has been the

spread of disease. In India the attempt to banish disease among factory workers is not as successful as it might be for two reasons : firstly, the low standard of living of the workers which weakens their resistance to disease and, secondly, the comparative indifference with which this problem is dealt with. Poverty and disease have to be fought with ruthlessness and the success in combatting disease would more or less depend on giving the worker a decent living wage.

- (d) *Psychological Needs.*—Some general problems arise as a result of the migration of workers from rural to urban areas. The psychological and emotional maladjustments resulting from changed conditions in the city call for a remedy. This, though a new line of study, is extensive in its scope, and should be undertaken whenever existing conditions warrant such an investigation.
- (e) *Accidents.*—Industrial accidents are another curse of industrialisation. Society cannot afford to pay the price in human lives for the sake of mass production of commodities, and more detailed investigation and study than have hitherto been undertaken should be devoted to the question of accidents.
- (f) *Vocational Guidance.*—One of the lines along which the efficiency of the worker may be increased and his general usefulness improved is to give him facilities for vocational

training. This must be based on rightly chosen intelligence and psychological tests. Again, if a man is found capable and efficient, he should be given a chance to improve his efficiency and rise to a higher rung in the ladder. Some industrial establishments do have a system of up-grading of their workers, but this needs to be done on a more organized and scientific basis than at present.

Such a programme calls for a fundamental change of outlook. Production, whether industrial or agricultural, should wait on the needs and requirements of labour instead of labour being utilised in accordance with the demand for commodities and services. In other words, demands, in the language of economics, should be created in order to provide employment and adequate comforts and conveniences to the workers. This may appear a tall order, but is nevertheless an ideal worthy of being pursued.

Any improvement in the general condition of the industrial working classes can only come from the following four sources : (1) the employer, (2) the State, (3) labour organizations and (4) an enlightened public opinion. Employers are by tradition very conservative in matters of expenditure and they are also, as a class, jealous of their hold over the workers. Labour organizations have been formed as a weapon to fight the obstinacy and unreason of the employing classes in withholding the just demands of labour. Public opinion has usually been indifferent in any conflict between capital and labour, taking sides in most cases with the stronger party. In forcing the rights of labour and in adjusting relations between employers and workmen, the State has had to assume certain powers. Governments of progressive countries have enforced various schemes for the benefit of the working

classes, such as unemployment insurance, old age and disability pensions and maternity benefits.

The foremost of all social security plans so far devised is the one known as the "Beveridge Plan of Social Security." Sir William Beveridge has set down five causes as responsible for the misery that is usually found in any class of people, particularly among the workers. They are Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness. They apply with particular force to the working classes of this country, and any scheme of social security for them should take note of all

these factors. The Government of India have appointed a Committee to investigate into the labour conditions in India (the Labour Investigation Committee) on the basis of whose reports the Government may base their future labour policy. It may not be possible to banish any or all of the scourges of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness within a short space of time. Nevertheless any attempt, that is made in furtherance of this object would amply repay in terms of the happiness and higher standard of living of the toiling millions of the working classes in India.

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

JOHN BARNABAS

Both the institutions, adult education and the social settlement, are as yet young in India. Assuming that a study of their organization and working in the West may lead to useful suggestions for their working in this country, the author proceeds to show how social settlements can help in the process of adult education, and makes a critical survey of the problems likely to confront the adult educator and the personal qualities that will be required to meet them successfully.

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India's allegiance to the democratic way of life cannot be doubted. But if it is not supported by a live, informed intelligence, which can result only from compulsory mass education, this blind allegiance is sure to provide a fertile soil for pseudo-democratic incompetence. As matters stand today, 92% of our people are illiterate, and even out of the remaining 8%, not many are distinguished by balance of perspective, depth of information and the other marks of an educated mind. For the smooth working of democracy, the two stumbling blocks in its way, namely, lack of educational facilities of adequate magnitude and the prevailing low quality of education, should be eliminated. This adult education alone can do. Its function is not only to aim at adjusting human beings to their environment, but also at making wholesome modifications in the environment itself if it is inherently deliterious in its influence. Social settlements are functioning in the West as the tools of such concepts of adult education and their history, viewed along with the account of the development of adult education, leads to the inference that both these institutions, arising from the same needs, are complementary to each other. Both, however, are as yet young in India. Therefore a study of their organization and working in the West may be useful to us and no apologies need be made for this shift of attention from the East to the West.

With the advance of civilisation, society has become more complex and has divided itself into those who have what they need and want to have, and those who have not what they need and want to have. At this point the social settlement plays an important role. It becomes the meeting point of these two divisions of society, the timely bridge that prevents their fatal partitioning. As Dr. Holt says in "Social Action": "A neighbourhood house is an attempt to reconstitute the neighbourhood in a society created and ruled by the law of the markets." We can well imagine that the personalities of thousands and thousands of our workers have little chance of healthy development in big commercial cities which sprang up almost overnight without any conscious planning and purpose, without any preplanned facilities of play and recreation grounds, with no adequate hygienic and sanitary provision. The social settlement in such a neighbourhood must become a family living in that area—a family consisting of a group of people having had educational and social advantages living in a neglected neighbourhood, striving to understand the problems of the wage-earner and the better-placed man, and sharing in the normal neighbourhood life.

Certain misconceptions about social settlements need to be cleared at this stage. The settlement is not a charitable institution, although, as Mary Simkhovitch

puts it, "it may do charitable things and its efforts may be supported by charitable funds." Again, it is not the instrument of any party, political, religious, communal or any other. Being an unifying factor, it attempts to search for the salient points in every group of society. The extent to which these misconceptions are prevalent is clearly shown in the following quotation from "Settlement Catechism" by Mary Simkhovitch: "What do capitalists think of the settlements? Often they think they are hotbeds of radicalism. What do 'radicals' think of the settlements? Often they think the settlements are the instruments of capitalism by which working people are lulled into inactivity. What do 'religious' people think of the settlements? That it must be irreligious, if it does not hold religious services or is not connected with the church. What do those who have studied the settlements most closely think of them? That they are neither 'conservative' nor 'radical,' 'religious' nor 'irreligious' but that guided by experience and life itself they propose to build up a more valuable kind of neighbourhood life than that which at present exists, irrespective of theory or regardless of criticism."

This policy of non-partisanship gives the social settlement certain distinct advantages over other kinds of social work. No problem is regarded by it as an isolated problem, but as one which has to be seen in relation to other problems. The settlement, again, gives unparalleled opportunity to understand the indigenous life of city neighbourhoods and thereby secure training for political activity. Lastly, by being a member of a group rather than working as an isolated individual, one-sided views are checked by the constant criticism of other members of the groups. The settle-

ment thus may be defined as a "group of men and women associated under qualified leadership for the common purpose of knowledge, wisdom and fellowship for the service of the community either by personal effort, by united action, or by influencing public opinion and participating in public life."* As C. Manshardt has put it, "It serves as a neighbourhood clearing house and as a centre of neighbourhood co-operation."

Before proceeding to examine how the settlement can help to promote adult education, let us try to answer the question as to why adults need to be educated. All are agreed on the inadequacy of our present system of education. We have been able to acquire knowledge, but not the required competence to apply that knowledge to life in practice. We are educated in part, but the whole man is not educated. Therefore adult education attempts to make up the deficiency by educating the whole man. Next comes the social need for adult education. The individual must be enabled to adapt himself to the changing world. As the National Education Report of America says: "Rapidly changing social and economic conditions require the development of a system of continuous education which will enable adults to adjust themselves to their changing environment." Conditions in the progressive machine-age aggravate the need for adult education. Under the cramped atmosphere of modern times the adult has no opportunity to give expression to his thought. So the first service that a program of adult education seeks to fulfil is to provide him with the opportunity for self-expression. It attempts to engage him in some work of positive creation; for creativeness is the function of man in his wholeness. And the driving force of this

* *Settlements and Their Work*, E. S. A. paper No. 2, p. 3.

noble attempt will be the love of beauty ; the love of seeing something in its perfection and as the product of his own efforts. Another great need which is met by this process of adult education is to help the adults to keep their minds open in spite of advancing age. It enables them to form their own judgement by basing it on facts. It insists on their discarding worn-out ideas and habits, and substituting for them new ideas and up-to-date knowledge. Thus they are enabled to realise their responsibility in relation to their neighbours.

There are several ways in which the settlement promotes adult education. Firstly, considering the fact that the settlement brings together the high and the low without distinction, it is no exaggeration to maintain that "by the alchemy of residential propinquity a cross-current of learning is established between the privileged supporters and the unprivileged consumers."* Secondly, there is an undefinable and immeasurable personal education that takes place between individuals, once confidence is established between them. No programme of adult education through social settlement can entirely forget this a important trend and should constantly, therefore, bear in mind the ideal of maintaining personal contact with individuals in the neighbourhood. Thirdly, all through the years of its life the social settlement has been attempting to promote civic education or civic education looking to reform. A considered programme of adult education has been its agent. While keeping aloof from party politics, it has studiously attempted to educate the citizens in the nature and forms of government, in the duties and rights of citizens. Further, the social settlement believes that learning is a social process, and so the opportunity for sharing knowledge and experience is amply provided for by it.

It is not possible to give a general program of work for settlements as a whole. Nor is it wise to give a list of activities that could be carried on in a given situation. Each settlement has to act differently keeping in mind the particular needs of the neighbourhood and the peculiar conditions of the situation. Hence we can only try to lay down very broadly the different forms adult education can take in a social settlement. The broad heads will be :—

1. Adult Education through group work.
2. " " " classes.
3. " " " the platform.
4. " " " the desk of the 'adult educator.'

Through Group Work.—Group work itself may be carried on in what are known as clubs and associations. Regarding the individual not merely as an individual but as a member of the group and educating him through it is the primary function of group work. Group accomplishment would depend upon the successful training of the individual in the art of self-government in the clubs. Various methods of procedure may be used in order to make the club a centre of training in self-government. It should be run entirely by the members of the club through committees or executives elected by them,* and its decisions and conduct should be subject to a self-imposed set of rules and an unwritten constitution.

In running these clubs, however, one needs to keep in mind the experiences of other settlements and try to profit by their faults. The experience of social settlements where an extensive programme of group work was attempted shows that "(1) the neighbourhoods in which they are located and the 'neighbours' with whom they work have a major responsibility in determining the policies of the settlement, (2) their educational programmes are

* G. Hawkins. *Educational Experiment In Social Settlements.*

directed toward the development of indigenous leadership, (3) their educational programmes are built on immediate interests made apparent in or developed by group associations, and (4) they tend in their association with other groups to work out from the settlement rather than into the settlement.”*

Through Classes.—Adult education is for two types of people, for those who have gone through schools and colleges and yet need education, and for those who have not had the advantage of education at all. In India the latter form by far the bigger majority. Therefore, the classes for them should try to impart a part at least of the education they would have received had they attended the schools and also the sort of education that schools themselves have failed to impart. Hilda W. Smith has some valuable suggestions to make as fundamental to such classes in order to enable them to fulfil these functions : “ (1) The necessity of absolute freedom of teaching and discussion, (2) the emphasis on the social sciences in the progress of instruction, (3) a method of teaching that relates instruction to the actual experience of the worker-students, and (4) the social application of the new knowledge to problems of the workers’ own lives.”

The most important thing to remember in conducting discussions in these classes is to see that you discuss the things that are of interest to students themselves and in which you too have an interest. Another important keynote to the successful working of these classes is to keep the problems of these workers before your eyes always, problems such as technological unemployment, loss of personal skill and satisfaction born of individual creative work and increased leisure time for the workers. As regards subjects, students may be

encouraged to pursue the subjects of their interests. Vocational classes, such as those in type-writing and shorthand, may be arranged. Then there can be classes dealing with special interests and hobbies like photography, painting, music, etc. It has of course to be borne in mind that adults cannot go on learning indefinitely and that therefore every course should be of a definite duration and limit.

Through the Platform.—The moment we speak of the platform we pass from that aspect of adult education where personal touch is prominent to a situation where there is not the same intimacy and contact between the instructor and the instructed. But experience has shown that the platform by means of lectures, forums, debates, round-table discussions, discussion groups, panel discussions, etc. can be utilised very advantageously to educate adults. To begin with lectures, much certainly depends upon the lecturer. The lecture method aids in stimulating the thoughts of people and stirring them to action. At least it ought to, for a lecture is the dramatization of an idea or ideas of the lecturer. There is an appeal to both the eye and the ear in it, and this double stimulation goes to make a strong impression. In India, unfortunately, the educated populace seems to be remarkably ignorant of the uses of lectures and tragically indifferent to educative lectures. In America admission to lectures is by tickets, and in our country even free lectures find an almost empty hall. It is time the people here were made to realize the importance of lectures other than those that are merely political or humorous, and this can only be done through a process of intelligent adult education. For this purpose a discussion following a lecture is certainly useful. Such a procedure “clears up obscurities and prevents that final feeling of infallibility which many

* Hawkins, G. *Educational Experiments in Social Settlements.*

professional lecturers come to have and sometimes to transmit to their audiences.”*

In Western countries there is a growing tendency to use the “Forum” as a useful method in adult education. In this form of education a leader of ability studies a subject and presents it to the audience and then the lecture-hall immediately becomes a views-expressing hall. Everyone gets into the spirit of the subject and expresses his opinion on it, supporting or opposing the leader. Thus the Forum works as a neutral meeting place and testing ground for warring opinions, and finally it serves as a stiffener of liberal opinion. In other words, the Forum is used (1) for imparting information and (2) to unite groups to sets of ideas.

There is yet another form of adult education through the platform. It is of recent growth in America and seems to be appropriate to Indian conditions. Called the Panel Discussion, it, in the words of Morse Cartwright, “places responsibility for leadership in a round-table discussion upon a selected group of from six to twelve individuals, with a chairman in charge.” The latter first expounds the subject. This is followed by a discussion, but without set speeches, by the members of the panel in the hearing of the general audience; and finally the question or questions developed by the panel are placed before the entire assemblage for further discussion.

Debating, when properly conducted, is also an aid to adult education, for “when a goodly number of young men are engaged in seeking truth, the result is both wholesome and stimulating.” The Debating Society of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House is a proof of this statement. For here come people of all descriptions and express their opinions with pronounced animation. Here an old gentle-

man speaks of the remarkable goodness of Gandhi, and there a lady with three children comes and wrangles that “marriage should be abolished.” Next day, a youth fresh from the college, pickwickally dressed and with unkempt but very luxuriously grown hair on his head, comes and declares that it is high time the gods and goddesses of the world were done away with and a bust of Ingersoll installed in their place. Then there is the inevitable puny creature who weeps over the badness of Englishmen.....

Through the Desk.—If authors can be hailed as one of the most important and influential body of educators, then it is clear that the adult educator who writes books and articles on various subjects interesting to adult students is doing them a real service. The press can be very useful in keeping the great educated public continuously interested in the problem of adult education on the one hand, and informed, on the other, of the advance made in this direction in the neighbourhood in which the particular adult educator is working and is interested. He in his turn can educate the masses by writing articles on subjects which are associated with the lives of all, sanitation, hygiene, house and town planning, and their influences on the lives and character of citizens, etc., and the more advanced adult educator, say, the social reformer, may proceed further and quicken the interest of the public in such matters as changes in the family and other social institutions. There is indeed no limit to the service that can be done in this way.

Then there can be local and provincial exhibitions arranged for the education of the public. Happily, nowadays, the educational value of exhibitions is being well recognised. Libraries, too, can play their part. But to be useful in these days of countless books on innumerable subjects, the

library should be directed by a sympathetic librarian who can guide young and old alike in the proper selection of books after ascertaining their interests, likes and dislikes.

Much of the organizational work in adult education is to be carried on from the desk. Be it through article writing or through a "Vocational Information Bureau" or any other method, all need study, thought and imagination, and without these being continuously employed, adult education cannot be at its best. Carried on in this way and through that elusive and yet powerful entity called personal concern and sincerity in all contacts, great and small, with the young and the old of the neighbourhood, it is bound to benefit not only those within a certain topographical limit, but also those in surprisingly remote places. Leadership developed in a small centre may one day determine the nation's destiny.

Since the success of any programme of education depends to a large extent upon the leader or "Adult Educator," a critical study of the problems that will confront him and of the qualities that will be required of him to meet these problems successfully may not be out of place for our purpose. The first requisite for the Adult Educator is to know his community well, its antecedents, its most sacred and powerful traditions, its changing trends of thought and feeling. In order to make a study of the people whom he serves, he must acquire what S. R. Slavson calls "psychological insight." He must carry this insight to such an extent that he becomes a part of the group itself. He must acquire a "membership character" in the group. As O. Tead puts it, "the demand upon the leader is to know the attributes of the individual so as to be aware of the characteris-

tics of human nature. Every issue of leadership comes back to this: know the human organisation, the manner of its behaviour, the natural promptings of natural basic desires, the typical aspirations, the usual and possible modes of satisfaction, the conditions of happiness in a profound sense. The leader should be an expert in human nature—whether his knowledge is intuitive or acquired by conscious study."*

Having thus studied the situation and the people therein, he must develop a socialized personality. For, after all, the functions of leaders are to socialize human beings, and this cannot be done unless they themselves are socialized beings. As Prof. Giddings points out, the leader must develop (a) a growing consciousness of kind—the feeling of identification with the group, (b) an increasing sympathy and understanding, and (c) an increasing friendliness among the members of the group so that the group may in reality be a socialized one. As a result of study and observation he should find out the people whose needs he can best serve. He "must know something about what life is like for the isolated housewife, the harassed factory worker, and the bewildered adolescent; whether life is somewhat alike for all these, whether there are relatively uniform ways of working with their problems and the like."† While always open to conviction he should never swerve from his principles; and along-side of his working on marked-out principles, he must have definite objectives of work. "For in the last analysis the leader is only as strong as his objectives are strong. A leader is known by the objectives he espouses."‡ He must learn to have foresight and wisdom in planning. This suggests the aphorism of Roosevelt that

* Tead, O. *The Art of Leadership*

† Kotincky, R. *Adult Education and the Social Science*

‡ Tead, O. *The Art of Leadership*

"nine tenths of wisdom is being wise in time". While emphasizing the need of having objectives and pursuing them relentlessly, I would hasten to point out that these objectives cannot and should not be pursued regardless of the feelings of the group. Pigors is right in pointing out that group-leadership is based on the successful interplay of individual differences.* And the co-ordination of these individual differences, if it has to give rise to a worthy leadership, is subject to certain conditions: (1) "Individual differences should not be so great as to preclude solidarity of purpose. (2) The presence of a 'common cause' is basic for leadership. (3) It is nonsense to talk of leadership in the abstract, since no one can 'just lead without having a goal.' (4) Leadership is always in some sphere of interest and towards some objective goal seen by leader and follower."†

Another great fact the adult educator should remember is that he is not merely a machine to run routine programmes. He is also a creator. In bearing this responsibility he has a two-fold function: he is to be a creative leader himself and he must create leadership among his group members. We have dealt sufficiently on the first function. As regards the second, his responsibility can be said to have three steps: he has "to (1) help the individual to develop his potential leadership capacities to the maximum through training and application; (2) help him express his leadership power along the right channels so as to be a constructive rather than a destructive leader, and (3) help him expand the scope of his leadership so as to achieve the maximum influence."‡ If he is to be a creative leader he must maintain his position not by mere domination but by

the power of efficiency. At the same time he should not imagine that he is the only man capable of mastering the situation, but should acquire the ability to delegate details to others. The danger of concentrating power in one's own hands is that such power which borders on selfishness is bound to be shortlived. There is yet another reason for developing local leadership. "Every leader should have a worthy ambition that his work may remain, that his influence set in motion through his life of service may be carried forward long after he has laid his burden down."§ Thus the leader multiplies his own life by developing younger men into leaders.

Lastly, foremost among the qualities of the adult educator is the integrity of spotless character. If he can possess that, all else will follow. As Henson points out: "The kind of influence that gives a man authority over his fellows is inseparable from the possession of what we are accustomed to call character." History contains the record of many famous men who, though endowed with amazing abilities and distinguished by notable deeds, have yet failed through a lack of the quality called character. Alcibiades of ancient Greece and Bolingbroke, the famous Englishman, are just two examples. The advice which Shakespeare places in the mouth of a father counselling his son might well be addressed to the adult educator also:—

"This above all: to thine own self
be true,
And it must follow, as the night
the day,
Thou canst not then be false to
any man."

To sum up, then, the adult educator needs to possess a sense of purpose and

* Pigors, Paul *Leadership or Domination*

† Laportes, William R. *Recreational Leadership of Boys*

‡ Laportes, William R. *Recreational Leadership of Boys*

§ Mott, J. R. *Leadership of Constructive Forces of the World*

direction, enthusiasm, friendliness and affection, decisiveness, intelligence, integrity and faith. Any programme of adult education which is not carried out with a leader possessing these qualities to a reasonable degree is bound to be a failure. A wise adult educator has to see that he controls

human energy, within a given sphere, in the pursuit of a common cause by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences. He must also endeavour to see that his will, feeling and insight direct and control others in the pursuit of a cause which he represents.

STATE WELFARE WORK IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

E. J. S. RAM

Having dealt with two divisions of welfare work in the United Kingdom—welfare inside and outside the factory—in the first part of his article, the author in this his second part considers the two remaining divisions of welfare, namely Seamen's and Coalmines' Welfare. He ends by surveying the progress of welfare work in India.

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PART II.

SEAMEN'S WELFARE WORK

The organization of Seamen's Welfare Work, which was introduced in Great Britain in 1940, was comprehensive in conception and simple in structure. It provided, at the centre, a Seamen's Welfare Board composed of representatives of Shipowners, Officers and Seamen's Organizations and of persons interested in the welfare of Seamen, together with a medical expert and senior officials of the Government Departments principally concerned, under the Chairmanship of one of the Joint Parliamentary Secretaries to the Ministry of Labour and National Service. The function of the Board was to advise the Minister on all questions concerning the welfare of British, Allied and foreign seamen in British Ports and of the crews of British ships in ports overseas. It also provided, in the various ports, Port Welfare Committees constituted on the same lines as the Seamen's Welfare Board, with the addition of representatives of the local authorities and the Consular Corps, and a staff of full-time Seamen's Welfare Officers, appointed by the Ministry, acting as Secretaries to the Port Welfare Committees and executive officers of the Ministry. The machinery was completed by a Central Consultative Committee of Voluntary Organizations. The administrative expenses of all the above Committees were met by the Ministry. Although the work of this organization naturally began in British Ports, it was intended from the

outset that it should be extended to overseas ports and the Minister made it clear at the first meeting of the Board, held on 17th October 1940, that he regarded the schemes as destined to form part eventually of a comprehensive international scheme of Welfare for Seamen. Both Shipowners' and Seafarers' organizations have, of course, been active participants in the administration of welfare schemes of all kinds, and the National Union of Seamen has organized its own rest home.

Organization.—There are at present fifteen Port Welfare Committees which have been set up in the Ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Newcastle, Leith, Glasgow, Cardiff, Middlesbrough and the Hartlepoons, Sunderland, Southampton, New Port, Swansea and Aberdeen. The number of Seamen's Welfare Officers has also increased and the areas in which they are active have been extended to cover all ports in England, Wales and Scotland. The Central Consultative Committee functions as a corresponding committee, progress reports being issued to the members from time to time to keep them in touch with the work of the Ministry and the Seamen's Welfare Board.

Accommodation and Recreation.—The declared policy of the Ministry and the Seamen's Welfare Board has been to ensure that the Merchant Seaman, "when he comes ashore after a long and in most cases dangerous voyage, should be able to go to a clean and comfortable place where

he can obtain decent sleeping quarters and good food at reasonable prices." This policy has been given effect partly by encouraging and assisting the work of voluntary organizations and partly by the opening of hostels by the Ministry itself.

The provision of hostels for seamen has of course for long been a form of welfare work for seamen by voluntary organizations, but many of these hostels were old and in the course of time had become unsuitable as regards location, comforts and general amenities, to meet modern requirements. As a result of co-operation by participation in the work of the Seamen's Welfare Board and the Port Welfare Committees, the organizations have been stimulated to improve the standards of accommodation and amenities in their hostels, and in some cases to open entirely new hostels. Government encouragement has been given in many ways, principally by the provision of facilities for obtaining building materials, labour, furniture and equipment, rationed and unrationed food-stuffs, tobacco, cigarettes, etc.

Clubs and Recreation Centres.—Clubs and recreational facilities are in general provided by the voluntary organizations which have been encouraged to raise their standards and extend their premises and activities. In many cases, however, the existing institutions are old and their location, construction and equipment have handicapped them in catering to the needs of the Seafarer today. Recreational facilities given by the voluntary organizations were usually offered on hostel premises, but recently there has been a tendency to organize clubs in separate premises which either do not give residential accommodation at all or provide only very few beds. An innovation of special interest is the opening in Liverpool by the Mersey Mission to Seamen of a Residential and Social Club for the exclusive use of

seafaring—or would-be seafaring—boys under 18 years of age.

Clubs for Merchant Seamen have also been organized, in increasing numbers and of a high standard, by the Ministry. Such clubs, usually called Merchant Navy Clubs, have been opened in London, Glasgow, New Port, Swansea, Avonmouth, Hull, Aberdeen, Barry, Cardiff, South Shields and West Hartlepool. The management of the Clubs is entrusted to the National Service Hostels Corporation. Ordinarily a Club has a large Assembly Hall which is adopted for use for concerts and cinema shows and has a large stage and dressing rooms, a bar, a lounge, writing rooms and a library, billiard and other games' rooms, a telephonic room and a bathroom. Wives and women relatives and friends of seamen are admitted to this club. Hostels and Clubs in British Ports are open also to Allied Seamen and their needs are met by providing entertainment, recreation and culture, foreign newspapers, books and periodicals.

Arrangements for Indian Seamen.—A very large number of Indian seamen now visit British Ports and need shore accommodation, and the problem has been made complicated owing to the fact that there are great changes in the number of Indian seamen in different ports from time to time. The Government of India have appointed three Seamen's Welfare Officers of Indian nationality in London, Liverpool and Glasgow, who work in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour and National Service but are responsible to the High Commissioner for India for the welfare of Indian Seamen in British Ports. Substantial improvements have been made in finding suitable accommodation for Indian Seamen and special hostels have been set up, the initial cost and running expenses of these hostels being met by the shipping companies using the hostels for the accommodation of their crews. In London, on the advice of the,

Port Welfare Committee, a committee of shipowners has made arrangements to control the Hindustan Hostel, previously a privately owned settlement for Indians, in Goodman Street, E. 1. The hostel provides sleeping accommodation for about 50 men, half of whom occupy two-bunk cubicles, while the remainder are in dormitories with six or more bunks in each ; a small dining room, a kitchen and showers. There is no separate lounge or recreation room, but in summer the men are able to sit about in a concrete yard around the building. The hostel is under the management of a former judge of Indian nationality. The men are in the charge of the shipowners while in the hostel, awaiting their assignment to ships. The standard of accommodation is below that of the typical Merchant Navy House, the rooms being small and crowded and the equipment meagre and poor. Nevertheless, it is definitely much better than the private boarding houses, which the men were accustomed to use.

A Club for Indian Seamen without sleeping accommodation was opened in Liverpool in April, 1942. The funds for this were provided by the War Purposes Fund of the Viceroy of India through King George's Fund for Sailors, and the Club is managed by the Mersey Mission to Seamen. It is intended primarily for seamen working by their ships and hence is situated close to the docks and used mainly in the evenings. The accommodation consists of a Restaurant, Lounge and Games Rooms, simply furnished but neat and comfortable with pictures of Indian scenery on the walls, and a gramophone with a selection of records of Indian music.

Special non-residential clubs for Indian seamen have also been opened in Avonmouth and Hull, and others are being set up, in Glasgow, London and Swansea.

The Ministry of Information distributes newspapers in Bengali and Roman Urdu free of charge for Indian seamen in Clubs and Hostels.

Reserve Pool Waiting Rooms.—On the recommendation of the seamen's Welfare Board some Merchant Navy Reserve Pool Waiting Rooms have been opened for seamen waiting for their ships, and recreational and refreshment facilities are also provided either on or near the Pool premises. These have been opened at London, Liverpool, Newcastle, Blyth and Swansea. The cost of establishing them is borne in whole or in part by the Seamen's Welfare Board, and they are managed in most cases by the Voluntary Seamen's Welfare Organizations. The Liverpool Waiting Room and Canteen, which is by far the largest, is managed by the Liverpool Seamen's Welfare Centre.

Safety in Dock Areas.—Owing to "black-outs" and other war time difficulties, the number of accidents to seamen had increased, and steps had to be taken to reduce accidents and to ensure safety in dock areas ; the Port Welfare Committees had to pay special attention to this matter in co-operation with the port and dock authorities. The special measures taken include the painting of white lines at quay edges, the provision of shaded lights at dangerous corners, the special lighting of gangways and across dummies, dolphins and lighters lying between ship and quay, and the marking of the foot of gangways with white paint.

Health Services, Hospital Accommodation and Rest Homes.—The pressure of the war had called attention to the need for better organization of health services for seamen. The Ministry of Health has under consideration proposals for the co-ordination of the special hospitals run by the Seamen's Hospital Society with the other

hospitals of the country. Special measures had been taken to deal with certain diseases to which seamen are susceptible. Arrangements have been made for the publication of leaflets and of articles giving information and advice about such diseases in trade union and other journals circulating among seamen.

A special scheme for the establishment of rest homes has been introduced to meet the needs of seamen requiring rest after the strain of war service but not hospital or medical treatment. A further scheme which the National Union of Seamen has in hand at Limpsfield is the development of a cottage residential section for aged seamen and their wives.

Clothing, Comforts, Books, etc.—The Merchant Navy Comforts Service which is a voluntary organization consisting of shipowners and officials of Seamen's Trade Union provide a number of special services for seamen ; for instance, the supply of woollen sweaters, stockings and other garments. A hospital visiting service has also been organized which supplies seamen in hospital with clothes, toilet articles, cigarettes, magazines and books, and assists them in dealing with their personal problems. Games outfits of various kinds are supplied to ships and to clubs and rest houses.

The British Sailors' Society also supplies books to ships and hostels, and had in 1942 about 2,200 "Ocean Libraries" afloat.

Educational work is carried on by the Seafarers' Educational Service which was founded in 1919 in the belief that "a necessary step in the welfare of seamen was the provision of a central stock of current literature to serve as the basis of libraries on ships for the use of officers and men, which should be exchanged regularly in accordance with the readers' expressed

choice of books." By the end of 1942 there were 63 shipping companies having crews' libraries on 620 ships. Eleven shore libraries are also maintained and the stock of books numbered 86,700. The Service also provides a "Correspondence College of the Sea" and grants scholarships to deck boys and young seamen studying for promotion ; publishes a quarterly journal, *the Seafarer*, and organizes essay and hobby competitions.

Finance of Welfare Work.—The greater part of the expenditure on welfare work for seamen is met by voluntary contributions, though it is not possible to estimate the proportion of voluntary to State contributions. This is no doubt due to the fact that in war-time the whole community is made actively aware of the services rendered to it by Merchant Seamen, and this awareness finds expression in financial contributions to their welfare. But it is also clear that a very large part of the funds for welfare work is expended by organizations which are controlled neither by the State nor by the shipping industry.

The Future of Seamen's Welfare Work.—Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, in a speech delivered at the Merchant Navy House in Newcastle in January, 1943, said : "As to welfare work, ways and means will have to be found to finance this work on a permanent footing that will have to be worked out previously with the help of the State between the Unions and the Employers." Thus he endorsed the view taken by the representatives of shipowners and seafarers on the Joint Maritime Commission of the International Labour Office, which at its session in London in June, 1942, unanimously adopted a resolution which declared, *inter alia*, that :

- (1) The Administration of welfare schemes should be so organized

as to give effective control to representatives of industrial organizations directly concerned with ships and the sea.

- (2) The financing of such schemes should be organized on an adequate and permanent basis and should not be exclusively dependent upon so-called charitable organizations.

The administrative arrangements made by the Ministry of Labour and National Service provide a foundation for a permanent organization in accordance with these principles, but the present financial structure and many other features of the system would clearly need considerable modification to meet fully the wishes of those engaged in the industry. The necessity for a review of the administrative and financial organization of certain aspects of Seamen's Welfare Work has been recognized by the Ministers primarily concerned. In October, 1943, the Minister of Labour and National Service and the Minister of War Transport jointly appointed a Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports with the following terms of reference ;

" Having regard to the Government's acceptance of the Recommendation of the International Labour Conference concerning the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports, to consider the activities and functions respectively of the Government, the shipping industry and the voluntary organizations in the establishment and maintenance of hostels, hotels, clubs, recreational facilities and other amenities for Merchant Seamen in ports in Great Britain, and in that connection to consider in consultation with voluntary organizations primarily concerned with merchant seamen their appeals for funds not only for welfare but for benevolent and samaritan purposes whether for expenditure in Great Britain or elsewhere, and to submit recommendations".

This Committee had Mr. H. Graham White as Chairman and included among others four persons drawn from the shipping industry itself.

The industry is working out its own scheme for training for sea service and for provision of suitable amenities for seamen in the post-war years. It may, therefore, be necessary for the voluntary organizations to reconsider the part they should play in the lives of merchant seamen and to concentrate their activities on catering for the religious needs of the men, with entertainment and charitable work figuring only as incidental activities. The whole system of welfare activities for British and other seamen in British Ports and for British seamen in British Ports and for British seamen in foreign Ports will have to be fitted in with an international system designed to meet the needs of seamen of all nationalities. There is thus quite a considerable programme of post-war reconstruction to be undertaken by Government and the shipping industry, even in the limited sphere of welfare work.

MINERS' WELFARE

It was realized that miners, by the nature of their calling, were frequently deprived of the advantages of social amenities and were exposed, whilst in the pits, to special dangers and difficulties. The growth of transport facilities and the effect of education removed, to some extent, the miners' sense of isolation and developed among them a keen appreciation of the fact that they should improve their lot and have better opportunities for their social well-being. In course of time it was discovered that part of the unrest amongst miners was due to the expression of a desire to gain national recognition of the value of their work, and as a result of this situation, Miners' Welfare originated in an Act of Parliament in 1911, dealing generally

with conditions within the coal mining industry, but touching tentatively one aspect of welfare, namely the provision of pithead baths. Following the reports of the Sankey Commission in 1920, and the Samuel Commission in 1926, two more Mining Industry Acts, more directly concerned with welfare, were passed, which helped to establish a fund and an administrative framework for the purpose of welfare for workers in and around coal mines. By the Mining Industry Act, 1920, a levy of one penny per ton of output was imposed upon all colliery owners to provide a fund for the improvement of social conditions of colliery workers. The duty of allocating this fund was placed in the hands of the Miners' Welfare Commission. Its functions are to expand the funds raised "for such purposes connected with the social well-being, recreation and conditions of living of workers in or about coal mines and with mining education and research, as the Board of Trade (Ministry of Fuel and Power) after consultation with any Government Department may approve."

Pithead Baths.—One of the chief objects of expenditure out of the Welfare Fund is the provision of pithead baths for miners. It needs but little imagination to appreciate the benefits conferred by these baths, which save the men from having to return from work in filthy and often wet clothes, and their wives the labour of providing baths and drying clothes in homes which too often lack proper facilities for either. Miners have now taken to pithead baths like ducks to water. Pithead baths have been provided at 362 collieries where there is accommodation for 4,42,000 miners. In terms of the numbers of men accommodated, more than one-half of this form of welfare work is done, and about 640 more collieries employing about 3,00,000 miners remain to be equipped with baths. In the pithead bath each miner has his own

locker for his pit clothes and another one for his clean clothes. When he comes out of the pit, he takes off his pit clothes and leaves them to dry during the time he is at home. He then proceeds to the showers and removes all the dirt from his body within about six minutes. After bathing, he passes along to the clean locker room and puts on his home clothes and perhaps goes to the canteen or snack bar which is attached to the pithead bath, and gets some light refreshment. Almost all the pithead baths have power-driven hoot brushes, boot-greasing apparatus, taps for drinking water, a convenient hook to hold his shirt and towel while the miner bathes and a cunningly fashioned stowage device in the lockers. All these and other small things contribute to the well-being of miners by making changing and bathing at the pit a simple and quick routine.

The capital cost of the pithead baths is met from the Miners' Welfare Fund, but no grants are made for recurring expenses. They are intended to be self-supporting, being administered by Trustees and a Managing Committee, having equal representation from employers and employees.

Where a pithead bath has been put into operation, the physical benefits to its users are quickly noticeable. A new sense of self-respect made manifest in mien and general bearing can also be discerned. The miner returns home, not in his working clothes, but better dressed than most other artisans. Many a miner, apathetic or obstinate in his attitude towards the pithead bath, has been won to the virtues of leaving dirt at the pit by peaceful persuasion at home. The many baths which have been established all over the country and the many more to come, are intended to be two-fold in their benefit: a great convenience to the miner, and an inestimable boon to his family.

Recreation and Social Well-Being.—Large sums out of the Welfare Fund have been granted for the establishment or improvement of schemes for the recreation, physical culture, and amusement of the mining communities. The old miner likes to have a quiet game of dominoes or billiards or a game of bowls, and somewhere to read the newspapers and periodicals or to find a book. The young miner seeks something more active like football, cricket or tennis. The boys and children also need some place to play undisturbed. These many needs have all been met, to a greater or lesser extent, by the Miners' Welfare Institute and the recreation ground. The best types of institutes are not used merely for recreation, but also for educational and cultural activities which fulfil a particularly valuable social purpose.

Many sports and recreation grounds of varying sizes and types have been provided. The welfare ground may be only a bowling green or tennis court attached to the institute; it may be a village cricket or football field; or it may even be extensive enough to be envied by any progressive local authority. The best type of welfare ground is that which is a happy combination of both the sports and pleasure grounds, which has a place for the old people to rest in the sun and enjoy the flowers, and a good play-ground for the children and which is planned around a good institute. On high days and holidays, in winter and in summer, the miners have appropriate seasonal festivities for all people, whether young or old, and in these recreation centres at all times are to be found most of those things which truly make for social well-being.

Boys' Clubs.—The value of the Boys' Club is well understood by the mining industry and consequently, many such clubs have been aided and encouraged by grants from the Welfare Fund. The

Boys' Club consists of something more than premises and provides something more than opportunities for recreation. Possessing the right atmosphere and the right leadership, it has a good influence in the development of a type of young man in whom there is a keen sense of the responsibilities of citizenship. These clubs provide in-door recreation, physical training and handicraft and first-aid instruction. Opportunities are also given for talks and discussions on subjects of general cultural interest. In addition, out-door games, sports, hikes and week-end camps are organized. It is to be hoped that the Miners' Welfare Fund, which has already been used to aid Boys' Clubs, may prove to be influential in bringing wider social opportunities to the younger people of the mining communities in the post-war period.

Health—Medical Treatment.—The Miners' Welfare Fund has been utilized to a large extent in the establishment of, and for giving assistance to, institutions and schemes for the benefit of the miner and his family in times of sickness or accident. In many cases, the Commission has given grants towards capital expenditure of hospitals or health schemes likely to benefit the mining community. The services of ambulances and district nurses are secured in many districts. In some of them, arrangements are such that when a miner needs special medical treatment, for instance, the loan of an invalid chair, or, following an accident, an artificial limb or a glass eye, he can get help through the Fund. After sickness or an accident, the miner, or his wife, can go to one of the Miners' Welfare Convalescent Homes. Some of these homes have been built near the sea for this purpose; others are adaptations of country houses. There is no doubt that no community has greater need of adequate medical services than the mining community. In

times of emergency, or in everyday sickness and accident, these services are easily accessible and they owe much of their efficiency to the Miners' Welfare Fund.

Education.—In accordance with the Mining Industry Act, 1920, provision is made for a part of the Fund to be expended for educational purposes. The Miners' Welfare Commission has sought the advice of the Ministry of Education and the Scottish Education Department in this matter. As a result of this, and largely through aid from the Fund, it can be said that the mining industry in Great Britain has facilities for instruction in its own particular technical subjects which are ample, widespread and without equal in any other industry.

There are 77 Mining Schools and Technical Institutes which are either built or equipped at the cost of the Welfare Fund, and which provide senior, advanced and university courses in mining subjects. Using the same premises at different times, there are senior courses leading to the qualifying examinations for the certificates of competency for mine managers and under-managers, and certificates for surveyors, firemen, examiners and deputies, and there are junior courses for students from 14 to 17 years of age.

The Miners' Welfare National Mining Education Scheme provides Scholarships for part-time day courses of advanced instruction, and is intended particularly for the miner who is dependent on his own earnings, and who is released by his employer for one day (or two half-days) a week. Scholarships which help to cover fees, the cost of books and instruments, travelling expenses and compensation for loss of wages while attending school are awarded to deserving candidates after a competitive examination.

Grants are also made to miners'

dependents for degree or diploma courses which lead to recognized professional qualifications. Further opportunities are offered to those who show promise of ability to gain university degrees in mining and engineering or academic distinctions in other callings and professions. The men from the mine, their sons and daughters are not denied the wider opportunities, but are encouraged and enabled to take advantage of these to the full.

Thus, in many walks of life, in professions and academic circles, there are people who contribute more to the riches of life, because of their native experience of mines and mining men, and who owe a great deal to timely encouragement from mining people and to material aid from the Miners' Welfare Fund.

Research.—A grant is made from the General Fund annually for researches under the Safety in Mines Research Board into problems affecting the safety and health of mine workers, and for disseminating information regarding the application of the results of the researches into mining practice. At Sheffield the Board has its own laboratories for small-scale experiments, and near Buxton, up on the moors, there is a large field research station. Here, and also in the mines, scientists and technicians all work together, aided by the Fund, for better conditions of safety and health in the pits of Great Britain.

Canteens.—In order to meet the food situation in the country during war-time, the Government made efforts to popularize communal feedings by the establishment of British Restaurants and Works Canteens, through which less could be made to go further, and greater variety and a more equitable distribution of non-rationed food could be secured. The general public, even those unaccustomed to eat away from home, were given opportunities to get an extra

meal at a reasonable price. The mining industry was, therefore, called upon to set up canteens at all collieries and a Defence Regulation was made enabling the money accumulating for the building of pithead baths to be used for aiding the building of colliery canteens. Standard plans and schedules of equipment of a special type of canteen applicable to the needs of any colliery were prepared to guide colliery companies in their decisions.

Now, practically all collieries have a war-time canteen which the miner can use daily. While on night shift, he can have his breakfast before going to bed, and his wife is spared the effort of getting up to get it for him. Pit canteens do a brisk trade in "snacks" and "baits." They vary greatly in size; some are little more than a glorified coffee-stall, others seat more than a thousand miners at a time. A few are managed by caterers, but most of them are run by the miners' womenfolk, who know well what their men like to eat and how it must be cooked.

Since 1941, about 950 war-time canteens have been provided by the Welfare Fund. Many serve hot meals daily; others specialize in packed meals to be eaten in the pit and in tempting snacks and light refreshments.

Rehabilitation Centres.—In the coal-mining industry, the rate of accidents is high and many of the accidents involve the fracture of bones and the injured men cannot return to work for weeks or months. The miners now have six special rehabilitation centres, where there is special provision for a spacious gymnasium for psychotherapy, rooms for medical treatment and for occupational therapy. For out-door exercise, there are playing fields and bowling greens, and the immediate country-side invites walks and cycle rides. There is also ample provision for in-door and out-door

recreation. Behind these visible provisions of the Miners' Welfare Rehabilitation Scheme are allied modern medical methods and a well-considered system of administration. The orthopaedic surgeon does not claim that his skill alone is sufficient. To it must be allied many forms of therapy and, above all, an invocation of the patient's own determination to get well. The surgeon's work is only begun when he sets the fracture. As soon as practicable, the patient is started upon a series of exercises, gentle but effective. These exercises are designed both to keep muscles from atrophy, and to give the patient an active interest in promoting his own recovery. These exercises become progressively less passive and more vigorous. Later the patient's attention is diverted to various kinds of handicrafts for occupational therapy, which is a skilfully devised ingredient of the cure. Various kinds of psychotherapy-massage, electrical treatment, infra-red and ultra-violet rays heal injury and tone up the patient's muscles to enable him to progress in his exercises. Meanwhile, the surgeon keeps a watchful eye on each stage of the patient's progress. Remedial gymnastics, outdoor and indoor games, all fit into the scheme so that when the patient has finished treatment, he has either recovered fully and is ready to return to his job, or is as fit as possible to be trained for another job.

In the development of these centres the Commission has been assisted by a Medical Advisory Committee of Surgeons who have great experience and an enthusiasm for rehabilitation. In these centres a new purpose of social well-being is served in the restoration of the injured miner to health, to confidence and, in many cases, to his own job.

General Administration.—The Miners' Welfare Commission believes that success in welfare work is dependent largely on the

intensity of interest displayed by local people. Readiness to give not only subscriptions for the maintenance of welfare schemes, but personal service to welfare is the measure of success. Through it is fostered a real sense of responsibility for, and proprietorship in, the welfare scheme. The principles of democratic administration are, therefore, observed to the hilt in the deliberations of the local Committee, the District Committee and the Commission itself. The final duty of allocating the funds to particular welfare schemes is vested in the Commission, which is the statutory body appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power, consisting of six representatives of colliery owners and of mine workers in equal numbers, and four other members, including an independent Chairman. But in the discharge of these duties, the Commission relies greatly on the counsels of the twenty-five District Committees, which guide the Commission in all matters of policy and welfare projects pertaining to particular parts of the coal-fields. In turn, District Committees gain wide knowledge of welfare through the advice and experience of practical men from both sides of the industry.

The Commission reinforces all this voluntary work by maintaining centrally an administrative staff of architects, surveyors, engineers and recreation ground specialists, who can advise upon or carry welfare projects through every stage from inception to completion. Welfare Officers, who are appointed by the Commission, live in each coal district to act as guides and counsellors on all questions of welfare. Their counsel has been inspiring and their enthusiasm invaluable.

The above is a brief description of welfare work in the Mining Industry, which can be said to be a unique social movement without a parallel in this or any other country. Welfare will continue

to expand ; it is no longer an experiment. The stage has been reached when plans for the future can be based on experience and the certainty of a proved technique. The future holds opportunities for much greater welfare work which can be done for the benefit of the mining people, with the knowledge that it will be built upon foundations of confidence and mutual respect.

WELFARE WORK IN INDIA

The origin of welfare work in India may be traced to the last war of 1914-1918. Till then, welfare of the worker was hardly thought of owing to the ignorance and apathy of the worker himself, the short-sightedness of employers, the neglect of the state and the indifference of the public. But since the First World War, despite continued economic depression, welfare work has been expanding steadily, purely on a voluntary basis, without any statutory obligations. The Government as well as the industrialists were constrained to take active interest in welfare work, partly through the pressure brought to bear on them by the International Labour Office, and partly due to the discontent and industrial unrest prevalent in the country. Though welfare work in India is still considerably below the standards set up in the United Kingdom, it has come to stay, and it is bound to make rapid progress in the years to come, especially in view of the post-war reconstruction schemes of Government and the industrialists.

The first fact to be faced squarely with reference to the development of welfare work in India is that traditionally trade unions eye all such schemes and programmes with suspicion and even with antagonism. Their charges in this respect are not without justifiable grounds. Labour had seen social work in India develop out of the womb of feudal charity. They

had seen the rising class of merchants and industrialists joining hands with the aristocracy, as superiors throwing crumbs to their inferiors in a patronizing spirit. The volunteer "friendly visitors," recruited largely from the well-to-do classes, increased their suspicions. But now their replacement by paid and professionally trained social welfare workers has helped, to a large extent, to break the barriers that had for long existed between labour and capital. It is gratifying to note that social work in India is coming to be recognized as labour's loyal and most valuable ally in its fight for better conditions.

Welfare work for labour employed in Indian industries has, since the advent of Provincial Autonomy, been taken over by the Government. Pioneering work in this direction was done by that great and zealous friend of Indian Labour—Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, since 1921 the Secretary of the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, later (1939) Parliamentary Secretary for Labour to the Prime Minister in the Congress Ministry in the Province of Bombay, and now Minister for Labour. He knew that employers, as a whole, were doing little or nothing in the field of labour welfare, and that no amount of persuasion would yield tangible results. He also knew that legislation to enforce welfare measures would not create that personal enthusiasm, which is so vital to the success of any welfare scheme that might be launched. He persuaded his cabinet to set up in April, 1931, a special Department known as the Labour Welfare Department, which is entrusted with the work of providing suitable social amenities to labour in general, and industrial labour in particular, in cities and towns of industrial importance in the Province, through the medium of Labour Welfare Centres. In-door and out-door games, both of English and Indian type, gymnastic activities, wrestling,

shower bath facilities, play-grounds for children, nursery schools, literacy classes, medical assistance, legal aid, cinema shows, epidiascope and magic lantern shows are some of the features of these Government Labour Welfare Centres. Additional activities include exhibitions, folk-singing and folk-dancing, dramas, matches and competitions, picnics, excursions and outings. Women and girls receive special attention. Literacy classes, sewing classes, cooking demonstrations, games, sports, reading room and library activities are conducted exclusively for the benefit of women and girls who attend the Labour Welfare Centres.

The lead given in the organization of welfare work by the Bombay Government has been successively taken up by the Governments of the United Provinces, Bengal, Sind and the Central Provinces. The Central Government too have recognized the value and importance of governmental effort in the field of Labour Welfare and in May, 1942, they appointed Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, the prominent Labour Leader of Bombay, as Central Adviser on Labour Welfare to the Government of India. Eight Assistant Labour Welfare Officers in different Provinces were appointed under the Central Adviser, who, acting upon the advice of Mr. Nimbkar, have launched wide schemes of Labour Welfare in all Government Ordnance, Ammunition and other War Factories.

Recently Labour Welfare Officers have been appointed by the Docks' Authorities and the Port Trusts in the four major ports of India at Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and Madras, to look after the social and general well-being of the dock labourers and the stevedore workers.

With a view to meet expenditure in connection with measures which, in the opinion of the Government of India, are necessary or expedient to promote the

welfare of labour employed in the coal mines, the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Ordinance, 1944, was promulgated on the 31st January, 1944. By virtue of this Ordinance, a Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund has been created, which will derive its revenue from a cess or a duty of excise at such rate, not less than one anna nor more than four annas per ton, as may be fixed by the Government.

The principal objects for which this Fund will be utilized are defined in the Ordinance as follows :—

- (i) The improvement of standards of living, including housing and nutrition, the amelioration of social conditions and the provision of recreational facilities for the benefit of the labour employed in the coal mining industry ;
- (ii) the provision of transport to and from work ;
- (iii) the provision of improvement of educational facilities ;
- (iv) the provision of improvement of supply of water ; and
- (v) the improvement of public health and sanitation, the prevention of diseases, the provision of medical facilities, and the improvement of existing medical facilities.

The Ordinance contemplates the appointment of Welfare Administrators, Inspectors and other Officers to supervise or carry out the activities financed from the Fund. Both the cost of administration of the Fund and the salaries and allowances of the Officers appointed in connection therewith are to be defrayed from the Fund itself. An Advisory Committee consisting of an equal number of members representing colliery owners and workmen employed

in the coal mining industry, with an Officer of the Central Government as Chairman, is being constituted. At least one member of this Advisory Committee is to be a woman. The functions of the Committee will be to advise the Central Government on all matters arising out of the administration of the Ordinance and the Fund.

It may be seen from what has been stated above that welfare work in India is still in its infancy. All that has been done so far is but a drop in the ocean, because the vast majority of employers and Provincial Governments in India have no welfare schemes of any kind at all for their industrial workers. Improvement in all spheres of welfare work will have to be made, partly by the worker himself, partly by the employer and partly by the State, to bring Indian Labour on a par with the industrial workers in foreign countries. In this respect, attention should, in the first place, be given to the environment of the worker, the temperature of the factory, its ventilation, lighting, drainage and general cleanliness. Various safeguards for protecting his health should be provided. His comfort should receive utmost consideration by the provision of mess rooms, facilities for getting food and refreshment, rest rooms and other sanitary arrangements. Creches and Nurseries should be provided for the infants and children of women workers. In order to counteract the evil effects of a stuffy atmosphere and congestion within the mills and factories, the workers should be provided with amenities which will enable them to maintain good health and enjoy it. Canteens should be started in every factory and mill where wholesome meals at almost cost price should be made available. As an average Indian worker is illiterate, it is no use blaming him for his degradation, indifference and backwardness. He must be educated

first and induced to lead a better, healthier and richer life. Dramatic and Musical Clubs may be organized to stimulate his æsthetic interests. Labour in the United Kingdom is endowed with talents of a varied nature and Indian labour does not lack these potentialities in any respect. As in the United Kingdom, so also in India, Employment Exchange Service, Resettlement Advice Service and Joint Negotiations Machinery should be set up—because no amount of welfare work will compensate for low wages, dissatisfied labour and economic insecurity. Each major factory should be made to engage the services of Safety Officers, Welfare Officers and Personnel Managers.

The Government of India have realized their responsibilities and are gradually adopting the conventions prescribed by the International Labour Conference and bringing about legislation so as to be in line with the Western democracies. The theory of the greatest happiness of the greatest number applied to this problem, would mean that the government should undertake labour welfare work as one of its proper functions because workers, whether industrial or agricultural, constitute more than nine-tenths of the population of India. But legislation alone is not the sole remedy for the salvation of industry. In the words of Mr. Butler, "What is required is the realization on the part of the State, the employers and the public, that human rights of the workers to live (and not merely

to exist in hovels) have a claim upon society and that, if this claim is not conceded in time, we will have neither justice nor social peace, and the alternative will be revolution instead of evolution."

Fortunately for us, we can see signs which are favourable to the evolution of a better economic order. The rising tide of mass consciousness, the growing sympathy of the progressive employers for labour, and the increasing recognition of the rights of workers by the State, are all factors which are bound to bring about a better relationship between labour and capital. The exigencies of the present crisis, the steep rise in prices of essential commodities, and rapidly changing political and economic conditions—all demand, in unequivocal terms, the provision of suitable social amenities for the workers in a concrete form, to enable them to live a richer and more abundant life as members of an equitable society. It is to be hoped that most of the progressive measures adopted to promote the economic and social advancement of labour during the war, in the United Kingdom as well as in India, would become a permanent feature of the worker's life. In times of depression, there may be a tendency for employers to cut down on welfare expenditure and here it is that government should play its part by insisting that the maintenance of the worker in comfort and in health, is a necessary and desirable objective of social and industrial policy.

HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE

DR. MISS G. R. BANERJEE

The new developments in the field of curative medicine and the science of human behaviour as well as the increasing recognition of the importance of social factors in disease have brought into being a new technique in medical care known as Hospital Social Service. In the following analysis the author presents briefly the activities of the medical social worker. She emphasises the need for a wider understanding of the social component in medical care in the hope that it may promote rapidly the organization of social service departments in our hospitals.

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Rendering service to the sick is not new. From time immemorial people have tried to serve their fellow beings in distress in a way regarded as most appropriate by their own society. In the matter of caring for the sick, people in the hoary past have been guided by religious incentives and humanitarian urges which led to the foundation of hospices for the care of the sick, the poor and the weary travellers. In course of time hospitals were established and nursing orders arose for the welfare of the diseased. But in early years, as medical science was not much advanced, they cared more for the spiritual than the physical well-being of the sick. The history of the Christian Church reveals that from early times Clergymen and Catholic Sisters have been visiting the sick and serving them with tender and sympathetic devotion, preaching to them at the same time sermons for the uplift of their souls. The distinctive element in their service may be termed supernaturalism. The believer in the supernatural holds that the final end of all conduct is the vision of God, and that all men are the children of God. Thus, human life acquires a significance and the neighbour assumes a dignity, superior in value to that found in the order of nature. Supernaturalism includes all that is highest in the natural conception of human worth complemented with the vastly higher conceptions of men as adopted sons of God. This theory

inspires the supreme type of service for a neighbour. The work which nuns and clergymen took up with a supernatural motive and aspiration was service for others in the corporal and spiritual spheres.

Gradually with the further development of medical science, attention was paid more and more to medical care of the sick; their pitiable condition led to the rise of some voluntary and municipal hospitals by the 18th century and special hospitals by the 19th. During the 20th century, the rise of scientific medicine, with specialization as a characteristic feature, has greatly increased available knowledge and skill, scientific and technical. Medical care has not only become more efficient, but also more complex and expensive. Profound economic and social changes have had a strong bearing on need, demand and individual ability to pay for all the services modern medicine has to offer, with the result that the gap is widening between medical science and practice. The magnitude and seriousness of the problem of sickness, from the social and economic viewpoints, have led to the realization that adjustments are necessary in the interest of all patients, professions, institutions and society as a whole. All these factors have made us feel that such re-adjustments are beyond the power of the individual to achieve. As a result, social philosophy has changed. New concepts have emerged, namely, that the health of

the people is a public concern ; that sickness is more than a private misfortune; that medical aid in its widest sense is an essential human right and that all persons must have equal opportunities for medical care. This has called for the acceleration of the number of hospitals where efficient medical treatment could be made available to the people free of cost or at a very low cost.

Recent advances in medical science have also improved the technical services in hospitals and these attract a large number of patients. Most people do not now look upon hospitals with despair. They have faith in their remedial measures. Moreover, rich people, who can afford to pay for private services, also take hospital aid in many cases, for here are certain medical and surgical facilities which are not available elsewhere. Under these circumstances, the work of a medical man in a hospital has increased tremendously. Hence he is unable to devote much time to a patient who comes to hospital seeking his aid. He has no time for taking account of the social factors related to his illness which he as a family physician might have observed in the patient's home, being interested in him as a personality. The primary relationship that exists between a doctor and a patient in private practice is not found in hospitals. The medical officer in a hospital is separated from those aspects of his patient's life which he needs to understand if his treatment is to be effective.

The complexity of personal inter-relationships within a large institution like the hospital is great. The increasing trend towards specialization continually augments the number of specialists in a hospital within medicine itself and in allied fields. So over and above physicians, administrators, and nurses, there are now dieticians, occupational therapists and others equally interested in the patient's welfare. Specialization has tended to draw physicians away

from the art of general practice where the doctor is also a friend and a counsellor, and practises social service as a part of his duty. As this specialization increases, so does the tendency towards an artificial 'splitting up' of the patient and with it the importance of keeping in view the 'whole' person.

Unless the patient's whole personality is taken into account, there is the danger of dealing with a symptom only and not with the root cause of the malady. For instance, when the doctor examines a patient suffering from headache, he may point out that by removing the cause of headache which may be eye-strain or stomach trouble, the patient may be cured. In many cases, however, it so happens that the physician, being concerned only with physical ailments which are just a symptom of an underlying disorder, is not able to get at the root cause. It may be that the stomach-trouble is a symptom of his chronic worry due to low income and it causes headache. Unless the doctor knew his patient in his total surroundings, he would not be able to get at the real cause of the trouble, and the patient could not be completely cured. Very often in a hospital the same ailments in the same patients are treated again and again; for, the underlying causes are never found out and the institution spends unnecessary amounts over these patients with no substantial result. It is sometimes useless to treat a patient's physical ills by themselves without a knowledge of the social, economic and mental factors that so often cause him to fall ill. But a man is not flat like a card. We cannot get the whole of him spread out on our retina at once. That bit of him, which is recorded in the history of his physical complaints, is built in the rest of his life and character like a stone in an arch. But an average practitioner in a hospital has no time to pry deep into these factors, and if he does, try to search for these

factors, it may be at the price of disturbing the routine of his work in the institution. The medical practitioner stands in need of somebody who would enlighten him regarding his patient's personality as a whole.

Sometimes it so happens that when a doctor diagnoses the case of his patient and prescribes treatment for him, the patient is unable to understand how best to benefit by it. Suppose a patient is suffering from heart trouble and the doctor advises him to take complete rest and not to worry. Would he be able to follow his counsels when he has several hungry mouths to feed at home? What would happen to them if he stops working and takes complete rest? It is impossible for him to abide by the doctor's advice without starving his dependants and hence he chooses to work and reaches an early grave leaving behind him a family of destitutes. So there must be somebody to see that the patient is able to follow the doctor's advice—somebody to arrange his family affairs in such a way as to enable him to take complete rest free from worry. It has often been noticed that a doctor's diagnosis of a disease in a patient fills the latter with despair and he constantly broods over it, regarding himself as doomed for ever. The best of medical aid would fail him unless his mind is cheerful, and he gets the constant assurance that he would be cured. Not infrequently, a doctor, totally ignorant as he is, of the environmental factors of the patient, prescribes treatment that is too costly for him, with the result that he gives up his treatment in utter despair. What is to be done for him and by whom?

It is true that in hospitals some volunteer bodies of women, clergymen and nuns do render services by visiting patients and attending to their personal needs to some extent. They try to add to their comforts, and to cheer them

up in the midst of their miseries. But there are certain fundamental differences between these intramural attentions and the hospital social service which we are to consider now. Neither the nuns, clergy nor friendly visitors co-operate closely with the medical practitioner in the hospital or with social workers outside the hospital. It has remained for the medical social worker of the present day to supplement the functions of those unofficial and voluntary workers by a special form of skilled service in interpreting to the doctor those personal and social situations which have a bearing on the patient's health problems and this type of service has now come to be accepted as an important element in thorough medical treatment.

In England and America, the concern of medical science for the patient as a person, influenced by social and other factors, and consequently whose medical care should include also his social needs, became formalized at the start of this century. Five important stages may be recognized in the development of this new hospital social service. The first of them dates back to about 1880 when an organization, called the Society for After-Care of Poor Persons Discharged Recovered from Insane Asylum, was established in England to keep friendly supervision over the insane during the process of their readjustment to community life. Such an organization was formed also in New York and these organizations may be regarded as the forerunners of the plan for after-care of patients which is now accepted as an important part of hospital social service.

The second and probably the most important contribution to hospital social work came through the Organization of Almoners in England. Though the institution of Almoners was started with the idea of inquiring into the circumstances of a

patient to check the abuse of medical charities in hospitals, the Almoner's actual work soon grew to be much wider than that of a mere inquirer or dispenser of charitable relief. First, she was appointed to find out the financial conditions of patients seeking help in hospitals, so that they may pay something towards the hospital services if capable of doing so. Gradually, however, she began to take interest not only in the finances of the patient but in his person as a 'whole' and worked for his benefit as well as for that of the hospital to which she was attached, and thus her duties have very closely approached the field of a medical social worker engaged in hospital social service.

The third contribution to the development of the hospital social service movement seems to have come from the functions of a visiting nurse. Long before hospital social service was established, a visiting nurse was an accepted part of medical care in the homes of the sick poor. Usually attached to some charitable society, her function in the beginning was regarded as chiefly medical—the provision of skilled nursing to poor patients in their homes when they were discharged from hospitals to ensure more satisfactory results from the medical and surgical work done by a hospital. She, however, soon discovered that nursing the sick and the poor in their homes was different from nursing them in hospital wards; to make the best medical aid really effective, it was necessary for her to take into account the patient's mental, economic, and other social problems, thus approaching very closely the field of medical social work.

The fourth factor was the social training given to the medical students of the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Charles P. Emerson of that University believed that the training of a medical student must include an understanding by him of the background and standards of living

of the patient he may be called upon to treat. Dr. Emerson's work differed from the present hospital social service in that he was dealing with the education of the medical students, not with the chief motive of serving hospital patients. His students used to visit many people who were not sick and thus it is evident that their work had no special application to the medical clinics. Also, special mention must be made of Dr. Richard Cabot who made a distinct contribution to the beginning of the hospital social service movement. His name stands out as most prominent in the integration of medicine and case work in the care of patients. In 1905 he drew the social worker into participation in the medical programme of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, and from that institution came the illustration in practice and in literature, of the meaning of the integrated service now known as hospital social service or medical social work. Departments of medical social service have since been established in the U.S.A. in teaching hospitals affiliated with medical schools, in voluntary and tax-supported hospitals, and in those under military auspices. In 1918 the American Association of Medical Social Workers was formed. A war-born organization, it had come at a time when the unification of the strength of medical social workers for the care of the sick and the disabled was urgently needed. Since that date, it has developed into a professional organization of significance.

Having dealt with the growth of hospital social service, we shall now proceed to deal with its importance. It has been developed in the hospital as a service to the patient, the doctor, the hospital administration and the community, so as to meet the problem of the patient whose medical need may be aggravated by social and personal factors playing on him and who

may therefore require further treatment based upon his medical condition and care. There are cases where physical illness is a symptom of some deeper ill, immoral sex life, excessive drinking, wanderlust, etc. In problems like these, unless the character of the patient, his manner of life and general outlook can, in some way, be transformed, efforts against physical ills alone are likely to prove useless. Unless the hospital makes a closer contact with the patient and knows his home conditions, it is difficult to cure his physical disease.

In the days when hospitals were asylums where the sick might remain until they had regained their health, knowledge of the home was not so important in the care of the sick, though at all times essential for their improvement. But in a modern voluntary hospital, which is used largely as a consultation centre and where the demand for beds is great, patients are generally discharged as soon as they pass the acute stage of their illness and are expected to continue their treatment in their own homes, and thus the nature of their homes becomes a matter of vital importance. With the out-patients who are living at home and only attending hospitals at regular intervals, their home is their constant setting, and may be the factor in which the success or failure of treatment depends. Bad home conditions, economic difficulties, the need to take up work soon after illness, mental worry—all these may retard a patient's recovery and more or less nullify the benefit derived in the hospital. It remains for the hospital now to strive to give help in such a manner as to reduce this sort of wastage to a minimum. For this purpose, case work is one of the important functions of the hospital social service department.

A large number of patients who attend hospitals are in a position to carry out the doctor's instructions provided they

clearly understand them, and are able to see their significance in terms of their own lives. A person may have money to pay for surgical instruments for his child or for his convalescent care, but he may not know how to get it or to make necessary arrangements for it. It is the function of the social service department of the hospital to help in this matter.

In a hospital where every man deserves the best, a doctor can make no distinction between the patient's care on the basis of financial standing. By investigating the case, the hospital social service department has to find out the financial circumstances of the patients, so that those able to pay in all or in part for their treatment may be required to do so. These contributions are of importance in carrying out the work of the hospital.

Another of its important functions is to conduct research in the social causes of health conditions and behaviour. The medical social worker of the social service department of the hospital who carries out these functions is a specialist in the social field and has a contribution to make in the social field like any other specialist. She helps to relate and make more effective the professional services of the other members of the medical profession. She discovers and reports to the physician facts regarding the patient's personality and environment. Moreover, she helps to overcome obstacles in the patient's home and work-life lying in the way of his successful treatment by the physician. She arranges, when required, supplementary care for the patient through other agencies and thereby assists the physician in successfully carrying out his treatment. She visits the patient in his home surroundings and wins his confidence and educates him regarding his physical condition so that he may co-operate to the best advantage with the

doctor's programme for the cure of his illness.

These activities are essential for hospital social service in order to give effective relief to the patient as an individual. But we must bear in mind that, as social work in general has nowadays taken a new trend of prevention and construction, the hospital social service, too, does not limit its functions to the curing of disease only, but like medical practice, accepts as its function two other broad phases of service to humanity—'prevention of disease' and 'promotion of health.' Besides case work and research, as stated before, hospital social service has a great educative function to perform. It interprets the hospitals to the community by posters, charts, public lectures, etc., to help to make the resources of the institution available to persons in the community. Besides, an effective social service in hospitals has similarly to educate the public in hygiene, and teach the relation between health and various social conditions.

Hospital social service has now become an integral part of the hospital it serves, for it is a fact that medical efficiency is impossible until the influence of social conditions is fully recognized and acted upon by the hospital management and particularly by the physician in charge of the patient. In a hospital the social service department is one of its professional services. So it must be organized and controlled as any other professional department in the hospital. Such a department is an asset to the institution, for it frequently has the interest of individual and groups outside the hospital, and thus serves as an important link in the community relation programme of the institution. This department should take its place in a hospital as a component and vital part closely integrated with other departments that

render skilled professional service to the patients, rather than as an affiliated agency. The White House Conference on Medical Social Work reports that the "Organization should be a living thing, a vehicle for increasing integration of services. Lines of authority and responsibility should be clear but relationships should not be repressive. Neither should the whole social function be delegated to the social service department. There should be give and take all along the line, a readiness to share interest and responsibilities in the service to the patient."

As hospital social service is a professional service, the personnel who shoulder the responsibility of carrying out work in this department need to have professional training in medical social work. Since 1921 the question of training for medical social workers has been given continuous consideration by the American Association for Medical Social Workers. Definite plans for the formulation of educational standards were studied in 1925, and in 1926 the Association's part-time educational secretary was employed. Soon after, the formulation of a two-year curriculum was advocated as the desired professional foundation for medical social practice. According to this plan, the first year's course was to be generic and the second, specifically medical-social in emphasis.

We have seen that in the process of medical care, the worker becomes an active participant with the doctor and the patient himself. Though the worker's focus is the medical need, her activity is directed toward assisting the sick individual in working through those emotional, psychological, and environmental needs which may be a part of the medical problem. Thus a medical social worker needs to be equipped with the scientific knowledge of health and disease, an understanding of the meaning of behaviour in illness, the

role of the emotions and their relations to the illness state. Not only must she have a knowledge of organic diseases, but also of functional diseases primarily in their social implications. She needs to have an understanding of the social, industrial and economic problems as they affect the family life of a person. Besides her special training in medical social work which would enable her to gain knowledge of the above factors, a hospital social worker needs to have tact in interviewing people and creating confidence in their mind to get at the roots of social and personal influences that have an effect on the patient's illness. She needs to have the knack of collecting correct information regarding the social history of a patient, for inaccurate information is practically valueless or positively harmful.

As a hospital social worker has to do such jobs as making case records of patients, she has to take precautions that she may not become mechanical in her work. It is always easy to do a thing in the same way we have done it many times before and it saves the trouble of thinking. In social work, due to its very nature, action which is merely mechanical is fatal to real accomplishment. A social worker has always to bear in mind that her job does not lie only in asking the patient and his people a set of questions just to prepare a complete report, but that she should do so because the person whose problem she is tackling is vitally affected by these factors. An important trait essential to a social worker is a cheerful disposition. She has always to be in the midst of diseased folk, and has to hear tales of sorrows of patients, but she has to take good care that she does not develop a morbid temperament or become sentimental as both the traits are sure to hinder her professional duties. She must have a sense of values in life, and ability to face facts and think clearly. A hospital

social worker should realize that "The humanitarian and the scientific sides of our work need each other as man and woman do. Science without humanity becomes arid and, finally, destructive. Humanity without science becomes scrappy and shallow."

As the situation in India stands to-day, is there need for hospital social work? Many people may argue that we have not even a sufficient number of hospitals and dispensaries in our country to give medical aid to the sick; then why incur an additional expenditure for hospital social service—the expenditure that may well be utilized for establishing more hospitals? There is truth in this contention, no doubt. We do not have sufficient agencies for rendering medical aid to our poor people. Besides hospitals, the number of physicians and nurses in India is rather low compared to its population. The number of well-equipped hospitals is very small. There is an urgent need on the part of the health department to establish more hospitals and clinics which would be fully equipped with modern methods of treatment. We certainly need good hospitals and more of them. All the same the problem of hospital social service is equally important. In the long run it would not be expensive. We know that when a patient is discharged from our hospitals the hospital authorities never care to keep in touch with him. They think that he is well and do not bother if he is not heard of again. But if we peer into the background a little and follow up this case for a few months or years, we shall be able to find that the last state of that man was worse than the first. The hospital does not hear about him—but he returns to the community not as a healthy man. Can such a hospital be taken as doing real service to the community?

Moreover, a patient treated in a hospital and discharged from it as

apparently cured, may come back after a few months and thus is treated for the same ailments again and again. Does it not mean an additional expenditure to the hospital—an expenditure that can be fruitfully utilised for raising a hospital social service department which would make the treatment far more effective and lasting by tackling also the personal and environmental factors of the patient ?

As the general population of India is ignorant and poor, it is all the more necessary to have social service departments in hospitals to enlighten the masses regarding social and personal factors in diseases ; in short, for educating the public regarding the preservation and promotion of health. For this purpose we need trained social workers of which there is already a dearth in India. As stated above, hospital social service is a professional service and to conduct it successfully we need trained medical social workers.

In this connection it may not be out of place to make reference to some pertinent recommendations of the Health Survey and Development Committee which was appointed by the Government of India, some three years ago, to make a survey of the present position with regard to health conditions and health organization in British India and to make recommendations for future developments. Among their many important recommendations it is gratifying to note that the training of hospital social workers receives due recognition. (see page 150) The Committee, which had the benefit of discussion with the Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, has recommended some acceptable expansion in the courses offered at this Institute to enable students who undergo post-graduate training in social work to receive specialised instruction.

The courses at present offered by the Tata Institute provide the necessary pro-

fessional foundation for medical social practice. But recently, the Institute has prepared plans for the training of practitioners for this field, including qualified tutorial staff and field work facilities. According to these plans a full course for training in medical social work will be offered in the curriculum covering the major diseases and the social factors which affect or cause them, and the functions, organization and administration of the hospital social service department. This expansion of the curriculum takes into consideration the fact that since medical social work is practised in an area where medicine and social case work meet, it must be continuously related to each. These plans will be put into operation in the month of November, 1946, when Miss Lois Blakey of the Division of Social Service Administration, Louisville University, Kentucky, is expected to join the Faculty of the Institute as Visiting Professor on Medical Social Work. Further, the Institute has also made arrangements for its own graduates to undergo special training in this field in the United States, to meet the demand for more highly qualified social workers.

It is encouraging to note that the J. J. Hospital, Bombay, has recently appointed a trained social worker as Almoner. This is a new type of appointment in our country and indicates the recognition of the close inter-relationship between medical and social treatment, and has particular significance in the light of the growing sense of social responsibility now evinced by medical institutions. In course of time, as the number of trained workers increases, the work may be extended to other hospitals also. In extending this work to other hospitals it would be more desirable to start it even on a small scale with trained workers rather than on a big scale with untrained workers, for the latter would invariably jeopardise the dignity of the movement in its infancy.

WORKING CLASS FAMILIES IN ALAGAPPA TEXTILES

K. S. SAMBASIVAN

The textile industry which was the earliest in the industrial field in India has today become one of its foremost industries. It is vitally necessary, therefore, that the conditions of the working class families in this industry upon which its prosperity so largely depends should be examined. With this end in view Mr. Sambasivan presents here the findings of his survey of one hundred working class families of Alagappa Textiles Ltd.

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The pioneer industrial undertaking in India was that of textile, which even today remains unsurpassed by any other industry. Though Bombay happens to be its home, the first mill was started in Bengal about the year 1852. The first cotton mill to be put up in Bombay was the Bombay Spinning Mill in 1854 which was started by a Parsi merchant, Mr. Cowasji Devar. By 1876 the number of mills was 47 and by 1939 it had increased to 389. From 1800 to 1895 the industry was moderately prosperous, but between 1895 and 1900 it suffered several setbacks due to the two famines that ravaged India in this period, the Great American Speculation of 1902 and the depression in the China market. However, the European War of 1914-18 served as a fillip to the industry. But depression set in again in 1923 and lasted till 1937. Then came the second Great War of 1939-45 which once again boosted the industry. India's textile production increased to about 4,800 million yards in 1944 from 4,269 million yards in 1938-39. South India failed to keep pace with North India in this expansion till electric power* from the Pykhara Hydro-electric Scheme was made available in 1932. Today, there are 69 mills in South India employing a labour force of about 74,812, with looms numbering about 9,700 and spindles about 1,506,213. The textile industry as a whole today employs 4,50,000 workers and consumes more than 50% of India's cotton crop, which shows that it has got a prosperous future. But this raises the pertinent question as to whether the textile worker also has a prosperous future.

It is with this question in mind that the present survey of 100 working class families of the Alagappa Textiles Ltd. has been undertaken.

The Alagappa Textiles is situated in the heart of the Cochin State which lies on the west coast of South India. Uptil very recently Cochin was a completely agricultural country except for a few artisans and craftsmen engaged in small cottage industries. During the last 60 years the population of Cochin has doubled, but the area under cultivation has been only sparsely increased. The result was that even in 1890, a considerable part of the agricultural population used to migrate to Ceylon and Assam tea plantations. Then at the beginning of the 20th century these casual labourers began to migrate to Coimbatore, Madura and Madras to work in the Textile Mills. The first venture towards industrialisation was seen in 1909 when the Sitaram Spinning and Weaving Mills was started at Trichur. In 1918 the Tata Oil Mills was started at Ernakulam, followed by some tile factories and oil mills. In 1934 the Cochin Textiles Ltd. was started at Pudukad. In 1944 another mill—the Alagappa Textiles—was started near the Cochin Textiles by the Managing Director of the latter. All told there are in Cochin today 98 factories of which 25 are rice mills, 11 oil mills, 28 tile factories and other miscellaneous factories producing matches, manure, etc. employing 57,003 males and 18,153 females.

Alagappanagar (in Pudukad village) where the Alagappa Textiles is situated lies in

the central regions of the state and is linked up with other parts of the state by rail and road. The striking feature of the place is its prosperous tile-manufacturing industry, but this recruited labour only from the lowest strata of society. Hence, when the Cochin Textiles was started, the lower middle classes took advantage of this, because they attached a certain measure of dignity to the work in textile factories. Alagappa Textiles attracted many labourers from neighbouring villages also. The preference given to labourers with previous experience, coupled with better conditions of work, induced several labourers previously employed in the Sitaram Mills to find employment in the Alagappa Mills. On the muster rolls of the latter there are 1,639 labourers comprising 784 male adults, 206 male adolescents, 503 female adults and 146 female adolescents. Thus women constitute 33.5% of the total number of labourers employed. The special suitability of women for certain types of jobs in the factories, the comparative freedom of women prevalent in local society, the scarcity of male adult labourers due to the war and the natural desire to supplement the family income are some of the reasons which draw women to work in these factories.

The labourers of this mill belong to all castes and communities—Nayars 22%, Backward Community 28%, Adidravidas 10%, Christians 38% and others 2%. One obvious sociological phenomenon that has arisen as a result of this is the rank provincialism and cultural incompatibility prevalent among the workers. Mutual disunions and quarrels, leading sometimes to close fights, are not uncommon because of the resentment of local labourers towards the emigrant Tamilian labourers. It is imperative, therefore, that the management should take steps to create a united labour front within the factory either by eliminating "unwanted elements" or providing

opportunities for cultural interaction through recreational and social facilities that would bring the parties together.

Working Conditions.—For a new recruit who is only accustomed to work in the field, working inside the factory appears altogether different. The nature of the work also differs. In the field, time is at his disposal, in the factory he is at the disposal of time. In the field he is the master of "creation," whereas in the factory he is just a mechanical supplement to a machinery of "production." In the field he is a "person," in the factory he is a "hand." In the field his movements are unrestricted, but inside the factory he has to keep pace with the moving machinery. Here he has to be always on the alert lest he involve himself in some accident. He has to observe discipline. So naturally he takes time to adjust himself, to become time-conscious and authority-conscious.

The process of manufacture which determines the worker's attitude to his work is as follows. The raw material (cotton) is imported from Coimbatore District by rail to Pudukad Station and then carried by motor-lorry or bullock cart to the mill. The raw material comprising various grades of cotton is mixed according to certain proportions in the blowroom department. After this, it is "opened," cleaned and converted into a lap. In the cording department the lap is converted into a sliver, while in the roving department the sliver is drafted into a thinner sliver and a twist is put on it. The actual spinning is done in the spinning department. The finished yarn is reeled into hanks for marketing in the reeling department. The workers stand all the time. They have to be very quick in their finger operations. In the spinning department, for instance, where the work consists in piercing up the threads, the worker has to be on the alert watching the spindles. In all the above processes,

only certain organs of the body such as the eyes and hands play an important part and these organs particularly get fatigued soon. As mental concentration also plays an important part, after nine hours of work the worker comes out a fully exhausted individual.

The nature of the place in which these operations are carried out is an important factor. In the Alagappa Textiles machines are housed in decent and spacious halls with brick walls, plastered on the surface. The sanitary condition inside the factory is good, and there is enough space left between one machine and another. The effects of humidification are reduced because the humidity there does not exceed a definite standard based on temperature; the sheds, moreover, are spacious and there is no overcrowding inside the factory. The noise, however, is continuous due to the running of the machines and the movement of materials. The best protective device against this is the use of ear-plugs made of compressed cotton wool dipped in vaseline, glycerine or paraffin wax. The natural illumination is good as plenty of light enters from above and through the windows; artificial lighting is provided by high candle-power electric lights, properly shaded and fixed at a sufficient height so that glare is avoided and uniform illumination provided throughout the hall.

There are 4 shifts in the factory as follows :—

Shift No. 1	8 a.m. to 12 a.m. (Interval)
	5 p.m. to 10 p.m.
General shift	8 a.m. to 1 p.m. (Interval)
	2 p.m. to 6 p.m.
Shift No. 2	12 a.m. to 5 p.m. (Interval)
	6 p.m. to 11 p.m.
Night shift	10 p.m. to 2 a.m. (Interval)
	3 a.m. to 8 a.m.

The whole labour force is divided into four batches and each batch has to work on

the particular number of shift allotted to it. Some advantage might be gained by adjusting the shifts and hours of labour differently according to the prevailing seasons of the locality, as is done by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills of Madras. For India in the hot weather the following distribution of hours may be adopted :— 5 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. —2-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. Night shifts have various physical and social disadvantages. The Japanese two straight shifts system, one from 5 a.m. to 2 p.m. and the other from 2 p.m. to 11 p.m. with half an hour rest in each, could be adopted in India. This would give the labourer enough time for recreational activities, for family life and for recouping energy expended during work. Workers are given an hour by way of lunch recess, except to those who work on the first shift, for whom there is a long interval of five hours. The factory is closed on Sundays. Important days in the Christian and Hindu calendars are observed as holidays. Leave is granted for valid reasons. Women are allowed three months' maternity leave *without pay*.

As regards accidents in the Alagappa Textiles, one serious accident and eleven minor ones were reported during the quarter ending 30th June, 1945. Compensation was paid to the worker seriously injured according to the provisions of the Cochin Workmen's Compensation Act. A major proportion of accidents occur in the spinning department and the workshop, partly due to the ignorance of the workmen and partly to fatigue. There are no posters to educate the workers in the technique of avoiding accidents. However, there is provision for first-aid in every shed and serious cases are quickly taken to the emergency ward of the mill hospital which is close at hand.

The incidence of absenteeism is very high in the Alagappa Textiles. On an average 983 labourers absent themselves for at

least one day per month. The distance between the factory and the residence of the workers, the irregularities of weather, illness, secondary occupations of the factory hands such as agriculture, social and religious functions explain this absenteeism. To prevent this the Company is offering Re. 1-0-0 bonus per mensem to those labourers who are present on all the working days of the month.

The wages of workers in the textile industry in India vary from place to place and even from job to job in the same industry. The highest wage rates are in Ahmedabad and Bombay where weavers earn Rs. 52-1-8 and Rs. 49-9-11 per mensem respectively, and ring spinning tenters earn Rs. 27-10-3 and Rs. 17-9-11 per mensem respectively. In the Alagappa Textiles the wages are as follows :—

Blow-room seutchner ... Rs. 9-0-0 per mensem

Spinning Department

	Minimum Rs.	Maximum Rs.
Daffer boys	4-0-0	6-0-0
Half siders	7-0-0	11-0-0
Three-fourths siders	12-0-0	15-0-0
Spinning tarwala	13-0-0	15-0-0
Roving tenters	10-0-0	13-0-0

In the workshop the workers are started on Rs. 10-0-0 per mensem and rise up to Rs. 20-0-0 per mensem.

	Rs.	Rs.
Bundling cooly	13-4-0	
Waste cotton picker	5-14-0	
Coolies	10-0-0	
Jobbers	20-0-0	25-0-0
Maistry	25-0-0	30-0-0
Spinning maistries	45-0-0	

In the reeling and roving departments the wage rate is calculated on a piece-work basis. The maximum a worker gets in the

former is Rs. 14-0-0 per mensem and the minimum Rs. 5-0-0 per mensem. In the roving department the maximum a worker earns in a month is Rs. 26-4-3. The average wage (without dearness allowance) comes to Rs. 11-0-0 month. By comparing this with the wage rates in the same industry in other parts of India, we see that they are lowest in Alagappanagar :—

Occupation	Coimbatore Rs.	Madura Rs.	Alagappanagar Rs.
Blow-room seutchner	10-5-4	15-2-9	9-0-0
Spinner	15-7-9	14-2-9	12-0-0

The causes of this low wage rate are the low level of agricultural wage prevalent which brings down the industrial wage also, the low standard of skill of the workers, the high rate of absenteeism and the low cost of living. A dearness allowance equivalent to hundred per cent of monthly wages is allowed to all the workers. During the time that I conducted this survey, the prices of the necessary commodities were so high (three times the normal rates) that the increased dearness allowance did not prove adequate. Fines not exceeding two pies in the rupee (calculated on their wages) are imposed on workers who show carelessness in their work. Of the 100 cases I studied, 88 paid fines ranging from 2 as. to 6 as. in one month. Workers who absent themselves from work without leave continuously for a fortnight are threatened with dismissals, and in cases of prolonged absenteeism, they are dismissed. Punishment for insubordination to superiors is in the nature of fines and suspensions. Promotions are usually made according to the length of service and on the recommendation of supervisors, but records are not maintained to show the occupational history and efficiency of workers on the rolls. Vacancies are generally filled in after a special test to determine the efficiency of the workers.

On the whole it may be said that working conditions in the Alagappa Textiles are better in all respects than in other industrial enterprises in Cochin, even though it is true that they do not compare favourably with working conditions in certain other Indian textile factories outside Cochin.

Economic Condition.—This is a wide term embracing the income, expenditure, indebtedness and savings of the people to whom it applies. In the 100 working class families I surveyed there were 154 male adults, 189 female adults, 119 boys (below 14) and 106 girls. Out of this, 124 male adults, 59 female adults and 9 children are actual wage earners. Out of this, again, 104 male adults and 54 female adults work in the Alagappa Textiles, and earn in a month a total of Rs. 3,555-0-0 from wages varying from Rs. 6 a month to Rs. 90 a month inclusive of dearness allowance. The average earning of a worker therefore is Rs. 22-8-0. In addition to this, other members of the families studied earn by working in tile factories or by serving in the army or labour corps; and still others by selling the yields from cocoanut and other trees. This brings up the total income of the families to Rs. 4,538-0-0 a month. The average income per family therefore is Rs. 46-0-0 per mensem.

What about the expenditure, one may ask, of these families? The following table will give an idea of the amounts incurred on different items :—

Item	Amount per Month Rs.	Percentage of Expenditure
Food	28—0—6	63.5%
Clothing	4—0—4	9.11%
Fuel & Lighting	3—1—7	7.02%
Rent	0—15—10	2.24%
Education	0—4—6	.64%
Religious & social	1—15—5	4.45%

Food forms the major item of expenditure, though the workmen take simple meals containing rice and vegetable curry. Clothes are bought only once or twice a year, but on an average the workers have 3 pairs of dresses. Only 74 working class families pay rent, the rest have their own houses. As regards education, the Government of Cochin is spending Rs. 11-9-0 per annum on each student by providing 172 public schools all over the state and Rs. 6-12-0 per annum per student by giving grants to 475 private schools. So the worker has to spend only on equipping the child with the necessary books and stationery. Out of 112 children of school-going age (i.e. between 6 and 12), 72 are attending schools. The miscellaneous items include soap, oil, shaving and hair cut, beedi, pan, drinks and recreations such as cinema and drama. 12 workers confessed that they spend Rs. 5 to 6 every month over alcoholic drinks. Conveyance charges are incurred when workers make annual visits to their native places.

Seventeen families in all save an average sum of Rs. 47-7-0 per mensem. The chief method of accumulating savings is by subscribing to that indigenous method of financial security known as the "Kuri" or "Chit Fund." The common fund which is collected by means of the first instalments of members' subscriptions is appropriated by the stake holder (i.e., the member in charge of the management) who thus gets the interest on the amount for the rest of the period. From this we see that savings are practically nil.

Sixty-one families are in debt, varying from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 600/-. These debts were incurred for the purposes of repairing the house, marriages, social and other functions and redeeming houses mortgaged. Twenty-two families incurred debts from the grocer by purchasing foodstuffs on credit basis. Money is borrowed from the bank

or from private money lenders. The former charge 9% and the latter 12% interest. The worker seldom bothers about repaying the debt but goes on paying interest.

The economic life of the families is thus simple and of a low level in terms of money involved. Consequently, the pattern of cultural and social activities of the people is elementary and simple. They care for bare subsistence, but not for efficient social living. The fault of course is not theirs ; it lies with the whole social setting and industrial organization not only in Cochin but in India at large.

Housing, Health, Diet and Sanitation.—Seventeen out of the one hundred workers studied stay in the mill quarters provided by the management. These quarters comprise one room 12'×10', a kitchen 10'×5' and an open vernadiah 10'×5'. Bricks are used for flooring and walls and tiles for roofing. Each house has 1 window and 3 doors. Built in a row, there are 8 houses in a block with spacious grounds in front and behind, and there are for each block 4 taps and 4 latrines. The rest of the workers, numbering 83, stay either in rented houses or in their own houses. 17 out of this 83 houses have roofs thatched with cocoanut leaves and the rest have tiled roofs. 6 houses have cement flooring and the rest mud-flooring. 12 houses are mud-walled.

The size of the houses differs widely. On account of the open space around them, they are well-ventilated. 48 houses have wells attached to them ; in the other cases water has to be procured from wells in neighbouring compounds. During summer months (April and May) some of these wells go dry, creating water scarcity. 47 families, including the 17 who live in mill quarters, live in 2 room tenements, resulting in overcrowding. Sanitation is not a problem in the village as it is in the city. The toilet habits of the people, however,

are unclean and indiscriminate. There are no separate bathrooms as such attached to these houses. Generally, the houses and their surroundings are not well looked-after and are therefore untidy and dirty.

A careful observation of their hospital records will enable us to judge the health of these workers. During the quarter ending 30th June, 1945, 2,103 cases were treated in the out-patient department and 20 in the in-patient department of the mill hospital. The common diseases treated were dysentery, malaria and pneumonia. For a population of about 3,500 people entitled to avail themselves of the hospital treatment, the above figure is too high. While some go for treatment to the mill hospital, there are others who go to the Government Hospital of the locality, as well as to the Government Hospital at Trichur and the local Ayurvedic dispensaries. Another factor that points to the ill-health of the workers is the high rate of absenteeism to which reference has already been made. Another still is the high rate of infant mortality. Out of 223 births, there were 18 premature births and 3 still births, which together form 9.4% of total births. The mortality of children below 1 was 40, i.e., 18% of the total births. At the time of my investigation, 36 members of the 100 families were suffering from diseases, the commonest being malaria. 22 workers were suffering from chronic gastro-intestinal troubles.

The important cause of ill-health among workers is malnutrition. The dietary composition of the worker's daily meal is as follows

Rice	16 ozs.
Vegetable	2 „
Cocoanut oil	1 oz.
Meat	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Fish	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Milk	2 ozs.
Pulses	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ „

This makes an approximate total of 2,300 calories, whereas every normal worker requires 2,600 calories and a heavy manual worker 3,000 calories. Moreover, their diet is unbalanced on account of insufficient financial means. There are not a few among the workers whose meals consist only of spiced "kanji" and that too twice a day. Apart from insufficient food, other causes leading to their ill-health are their unclean and irregular habits and indulgence in alcohol and tobacco. In my survey 20% of the workers consumed liquor, while 60% were addicted to tobacco. The factory environment to which they are not used and the cotton particles that get inside their lungs owing to want of proper precautionary measures further contribute to their ill-health.

Though far from satisfactory, the present condition of health of these workers is better than of those who dwell in congested cities like Bombay and Sholapur. The management have done a good deal by providing good hospital facilities for the workers. They must also educate the latter regarding balanced diet, and clean and regular habits. The workers must be encouraged to make use of the hospital when they fall sick.

The Worker At Home and In Society.—Industrialisation has contributed much to family disorganization. As its result, most of the important ties that bind all family members together in an agricultural society began to loosen. Again, the worker unaccustomed to the work-life in the factory also becomes disorganized and in such a condition is not able to enjoy the richness of family life. This condition affects his emotions also, leading him to seek pleasure through unnatural sources like alcohol, prostitution, etc. Factory occupation has made members of the same family economically independent. The joint family, so common in India, is gradually dis-

appearing. In my study, 62 families were joint families, though in a limited sense. The family members include wife and children, unmarried sisters, brothers and parents, if any. All the adult male members (in some poor families female members also) earn and contribute their share to the family income. All the members dine together and participate in religious and social ceremonies. The emigrant workers, however, live in unitary families, the worker, his family and children constituting the family. The average size of the family is 5—7. It may be of interest to the reader to know that in the case of eight families the number of members was ten and over.

In the 100 families there were 225 children in all. 62% of the children who are above the age of 6 attend the primary school. In some cases economic conditions prevent the worker from sending his child to school, in which case the child spends his time among those family members who do not go to work. 40% of the workers were literate, knowing how to read and write Malayalam. Of the 158 workers who belong to the 100 families, 78 were married. The average age of marriage for the male is 23 and for the female 17.2. The families can be classified according to religion and caste into :—

Hindu	{	Nayar	25
		Ezhuva	28
Adidravida			14
Christian			32
Muslim			1

Space does not permit a detailed examination of the social customs and religious rites of each of these sects and communities. Suffice it to say that the social interaction between them stands far below the healthy community living seen in other advanced occupational groups of other countries. Barring the yearly *Aratu puzha Utsavam* (festival) in which all people join

irrespective of provincial, religious or caste differences, there are hardly any occasions for the workers of various communities to meet on common ground. Social interaction, and communal and provincial harmony can be achieved only through effective social education, cultural interchange, and common recreational participation. This in turn can only be instituted through healthy education.

Labour Welfare.—Labour welfare has its negative as well as positive side. On the negative side, the aim of labour welfare is to counteract the baneful effects of large scale production on the personal, family and social life of the worker. On the positive side, it aims at providing opportunities and amenities for the worker and his family for a good life. In India the amount of welfare work done is still too meagre when compared to the number of workers employed in industry. An ambitious programme of labour welfare for the Alagappa Textiles still remains on paper and only a hospital, a canteen and a grain shop are the visible signs of active execution of the plan. The management are thinking of attaching a maternity ward to the hospital and starting a creche. Plans are ready for constructing a big hall for the labourers for the purpose of conducting dramatic performances. Besides, they are thinking of providing further housing accommodation for the labourers.

The hospital is housed in a very neat, newly constructed building just opposite the factory gates. It has 2 wards of 6 beds each, a well-equipped operation theatre, wash-rooms, etc. On the staff are a medical graduate, a compounder, a woman attendant, a male attendant, a sweeper and a watchman. Upto 30th June, 1946, 2,103 out-patient cases, 20 in-patient cases and 12 accident and emergency cases were treated in the hospital. The treatment is free to workers as well as their families.

The management spends about Rs. 600/- a month in maintaining the hospital. The workers, however, do not take much advantage of the hospital. Only in emergency cases do they approach the mill doctor for help; otherwise they go to some Ayurvedic physician and get themselves treated by him. As this is mostly due to their ignorance, it must be dispelled by health drives, visual education, etc.

Outside the factory there is a canteen run by the Food Department of the Cochin Government. Tea, coffee and eatables are supplied to the workers on a token system of payment. But this canteen is not patronised by a majority of the workers who get their requirements from other hotels in the vicinity because the food in the canteen is costlier. Much improvement needs to be effected in the organization of this canteen. It must be started on a co-operative basis. The management should be in the hands of a committee of six representatives elected from the workers with the Labour Welfare Officer as Chairman. It should be within the easy reach of all. Trained personnel should be appointed to supervise the cooking, storage and supply of foodstuffs, in addition to providing educational enlightenment on dietetics.

The mill provides housing facilities for only 200 families of the workers. But as the industry is located in a rural area, there are no acute housing problems demanding the attention of the management. All the same the construction of some more houses would help those workers who do not own houses themselves.

There are no facilities for recreation provided. But in fairness to the management for the absence of any appreciable welfare programme, it must be stated that the Alagappa Textiles are a new venture and it is not yet time to put into operation any far-reaching welfare activities. The Alagappa

Textiles, besides, are situated in the rural countryside where people are conservative and have not yet begun to feel the impact of the system of mechanised production. There is every reason to hope that they will not lag behind in the practical execution of the ambitious welfare plans that they have creditably formulated.

A word may be said here about industrial relations. With the exception of a strike that lasted for ten days, the employer-employee relationships in Alagappa Textiles have so far been commendable. Subsequent to the strike, the Government of Cochin appointed a Labour Officer in the mill with powers to interfere in mill disputes. After the strike a trade union that was functioning was put down with police assistance, but at present attempts are being made to revive the union. Cochin is among the few progressive Indian States that have passed legislative measures regarding industrial labour. The first Factories Act of Cochin was passed in 1927. Since then the State has followed British Indian labour legislation, and has so far adopted the Workman's Compensation Acts, the Payment of Wages Act, the Trades Disputes Act, the Dock Labourers Act, the Trades Unions Act and the Maternity Benefit Act.

Conclusions.—Today in Cochin there are only 57,003 male workers and 18,153 female workers engaged in organized industries. The number is small and the evils from which they are suffering is not conspicuous, but as the industries grow and the number of workers increases, the removal of these evils may become difficult. Cochin very recently constituted an Industrial Development Committee to advise how far the industries now established in the state are capable of development, and to guide the authorities on the measures necessary to secure such development and to explain the possibility of starting new industries. At the same time an extensive

survey was undertaken to ascertain the conditions of the workers employed in industries. But it remains to be seen how far the findings of this Committee will be fruitfully acted upon by the agencies concerned, namely, the Government and the industrialists.

The first thing that strikes us about the industrial working class population of Alagappa Textiles is that it is even today essentially an agricultural population. The workers have not been taught the need to adjust themselves to the inescapable social forces created by the new economic setting. An exhaustive programme of adult education should, therefore, in my opinion, be an important item in the proposed welfare scheme of the mills. What the worker needs is the emotional, intellectual and physical adjustment to his work life and also to his family life. A second aspect in the life of the worker, that needs to be attended to by the industry that is responsible for his destiny, is his generalised interest in life. The most effective means found so far towards the attainment of this end is the provision of healthy recreational programmes including games, play-grounds and play equipments, gymnasiums, camping holidays, dramatics, cinema, music, radio and social and intellectual clubs. Thirdly, it may be pointed out that it is part of the duty of the industry to look after the welfare of the workers as a community. In this respect the industry should provide for the welfare of the families of the workers through such programmes as nursery schools, maternity clinics, post-natal clinics and health visiting.

Labour welfare, however, is not a substitute for an adequate minimum wage. The existing scale of wages in the Alagappa Textiles is evidently inadequate and an increase in the level of wages is no doubt a pressing need. But over and above this, the economic resources of the worker can

be improved by instituting such schemes as credit co-operatives, consumers' co-operatives and insurance. So far as the work life itself is concerned, certain direct measures may be adopted within the industrial organization which may go a long way in sharpening the technical acumen of the labour force in general, thereby increasing efficiency and productivity. With a view to this end it is advisable to start with vocational selection at recruitment. Within

the factory the worker's efficiency may be increased by proper apprenticeship, placement, technical specialisation and follow-up.

Industrialisation has come to stay in India. It is no use moaning over its attendant evils and asking whether it is desirable, after all. The only thing left for us to do is to meet the situation positively, wisely and courageously so that our country may be enriched, strengthened and made a happier place to live in.

THE DRAFT HINDU CODE

P. V. KAMATH

The Hindu Law, or at any rate, a part of it is on the anvil of codification. In the following article, the writer has invited careful attention to the broad aspects of the Draft Hindu Code. He stresses the necessity to depart from traditional ruts of thought in order to place Hindu Law on a more rational basis, and make it more consistent with the spirit and practice of the times in which we live.

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The subject matter of my article is mainly related to Hindu Law which affects only the rights and duties of all persons who come under the denomination "Hindu." Hindu Law has the oldest pedigree of any known system of jurisprudence and even now it shows no signs of decrepitude. At this day it governs races of men extending from Kashmir to Cape Comorin who agree in nothing else except their submission to it. No time and trouble which is spent in investigating the origin and development of such a system and the causes of its influence can ever be considered a waste.

Now coming to the Draft Hindu Code, I shall first deal with the reasons which induced the Government of India to appoint a Committee for formulating a Code of Hindu Law. In the preamble to the Code it is stated as follows : "The Hindu Law Committee have been appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of formulating a code of Hindu Law which should be complete as far as possible. It is generally felt that the evils of piece-meal legislation on this subject should be avoided and that an entire Hindu Code acceptable to the general Hindu public should be in operation at an early date. The intention is to place the Code prepared by the Committee before the two chambers of the Central Legislature for their consideration so that they may have a complete picture of the Committee's proposals in their entirety to enable them the better to

deal with particular topics, like the law of intestate succession and marriage."

The Committee accordingly prepared a draft Code on those topics of Hindu Law on which alone the Centre can legislate and had it circulated to leading lawyers in India. The draft now published after being largely revised in the light of criticisms received, is only a tentative one, which is intended to focus the attention of the public on the main issues which arise and it is expressly stated that the Committee should not be regarded as wedded to any of its provisions. They intend to revise the draft in the light of public opinion as elicited by them in writing and orally.

In introducing the draft Code to the public, the object of the Committee is to evolve a uniform code of Hindu Law, which will apply to all Hindus by blending the most progressive elements in the various schools of Law which prevail in different parts of the country. The achievement of uniformity necessarily involves the adoption of one view in preference to others in particular matters. The Committee desire that the Code should be regarded as an integral whole and no part should be judged as if it stood by itself.

The Code deals with the following subjects : Intestate and Testamentary Succession, Maintenance, Marriage and Divorce, Guardianship and Adoption. Before dealing with these subjects one by one and stating the changes introduced in

them by the Code, I should like to briefly refer to some of the important features of Hindu Law as it exists today. The Hindu Law differs from other legal systems of the world in its system of the Joint Family, the Law of Adoption, and the Rules of Succession and Inheritance. There are different schools of Hindu Law prevalent in different parts of India, the two principal schools being the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga. The Mitakshara prevails throughout British India though difference in the interpretation of the various treatises and commentaries on the Mitakshara gave rise to many subdivisions of the school and the Dayabhaga is of supreme authority in Bengal. The two schools differ in many vital points regarding succession, rights of women and ancestral property.

Intestate Succession.—Now coming to the subject of Intestate Succession, it was governed hitherto (in the Mitakshara School) by the joint family system. A Hindu joint family ordinarily consists of all the descendants in the male line, from a common ancestor, their wives and unmarried daughters. The fundamental principle of the Hindu family is the tie of *Sapindaship*, without which it is impossible to form a joint family. Two persons are said to be *sapindas* of each other if one is a line ascendant of the other within seven degrees, or if they have a common lineal ascendant who is within the limits of *sapinda* relationship with reference to each of them. A coparcenary consists of the privileged few of the joint family who acquire an interest in the joint family property by birth. They are the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of the holder of the property for the time being and the undivided collaterals who are descendants in the male line of one who was a coparcener with the ancestor of the last possessor. No female, not even the wife, can be a coparcener according

to the Mitakshara Law. The Draft Code deals a death blow to the system of Hindu Coparcenary by introducing the wife and the daughter as heirs to the property of a person dying intestate. Thus, according to the Code, the son, the widow and the daughter succeed to the property of the deceased simultaneously. For the first time in the history of Hindu Law, does a woman stand on a footing of perfect equality with man. The manner of devolution of property will be as follows :— (a) The intestate's widow, or if there is more than one widow, all the widows together, take one share. (b) Each son of the intestate shall take one share whether he was undivided or divided from or reunited with the intestate. (c) Each of the intestate's daughters shall take half a share whether she is unmarried, married, widow, rich or poor, and with or without issue or possibility of issue.

In the above statement, 'son' includes, son of a pre-deceased son, or son of a pre-deceased son of a pre-deceased son.

The property so inherited by the widow and daughter will be their absolute property or *Stridhan*. Hitherto the property inherited by a widow or a daughter was known as "Woman's Estate," and she had an interest in the property till her death. A woman under such circumstances had absolutely no right to alienate her property. The second important change introduced in the sphere of succession by the Code is regarding *Stridhan*. *Stridhan* is defined by the Code as "Property of a woman howsoever acquired," whether by inheritance, devise or at a partition in lieu of maintenance or arrears of maintenance by gift from a relative or a stranger before, at or after her marriage, by her own skill or exertions, by purchase, or prescription, or by any other mode. At present *Stridhan* includes gifts made at the time of the marriage by the husband, father, mother

and brothers of the woman. This does not include property inherited by a woman. The Draft Code drastically changes the conception of *Stridhan* and applies the term to all kinds of property, however begotten by a woman. Regarding succession to the *Stridhan* of a woman, each of the daughters gets one share and each of the sons gets half a share simultaneously. Again, regarding the question of partition, the provisions of the Partition Act have been made applicable. Thus any person, man or woman, who has an interest in the property of the deceased, might claim his or her share, whenever he or she wants to remain separate from the joint family. Some of the other minor changes in the subject of intestate succession are regarding the unchaste woman, the murderer, and the diseased person: (a) A woman who after marriage has been unchaste during her husband's lifetime shall, unless he has condoned her immoral conduct, be disqualified from inheriting his property, provided that the right of a woman to inherit to her husband shall not be questioned on the above ground unless a court of law has found her to have been unchaste as aforesaid, in a proceeding to which she and her husband were parties and in which the matter was specifically in issue, the finding of the court not having been subsequently reversed. (b) A murderer or one charged with the abetment of murder is disqualified from inheriting the property of the person murdered by him. (c) Diseases and other defects do not disqualify a man from inheriting property. (d) The descendants of a convert, born after conversion, are disqualified from inheriting the property of their Hindu relatives.

Testamentary Succession, according to the Code, has dealt a death blow to the Hindu Law canon of acquiring interest by birth in the property of the parent and devaluation of property by birth. Thus the Code lays down that any interest in joint

family property possessed by a male Hindu dying after the commencement of this Code shall devolve not by survivorship but by testamentary or intestate succession as the case may be. Where, after the commencement of the Code, the property of any male Hindu (including his interest in joint family property) devolves by testamentary or intestate succession on his son, son's son or son's son's son, the latter shall take the property in the same manner and have the same right to dispose of it by transfer *intervivos* or by will as he would have had if he had not been so related to the deceased; that is to say, the property shall be his separate property, and his son, or son's son, or son's son's son, whether alive at the time of succession or born subsequently, shall not have any right over such property merely by reason of birth.

Maintenance.—Now coming to the subject of maintenance, it is laid down by the Code that provision for food, clothing and residence for an unmarried daughter and reasonable expenses of and incident to her marriage, including value of gifts or presents to her or to the bridegroom, must be borne by the father. Other dependents who can claim maintenance from the head of the family are (1) the father, (2) mother, (3) widow, so long as she remains a widow, (4) widowed daughter if she is unable to get maintenance from her husband's house, (5) widow of son, son of a predeceased son, or son of a predeceased son of a predeceased son, (6) minor illegitimate son, (7) unmarried illegitimate daughter, etc.

Hindu Marriage.—It is in the sphere of Hindu Marriage that most remarkable and revolutionary changes are introduced by the Draft Code. According to Hindu Law, as it exists today, a marriage is not a contract but a sacrament. It is one of the *Sanskaras* or purificatory ceremonies necessary under Hindu religion for the purpose of purifying the body from the inherited taint.

The Hindu Shastras have enjoined marriage as a duty because an unmarried man cannot perform some of the most important religious ceremonies. Thus the Hindu marriage is a holy union between a Hindu man and woman for the performance of religious duties. The union is indissoluble in life and subsists even after the death of the husband. Conversion to an alien faith, or loss of caste, does not dissolve the marriage tie among the Hindus. Further, under the Hindu Law a man can marry any number of wives though he may have a wife or wives living. Divorce is unknown to the Hindu Law. The general rule of Hindu Law is that the marriage tie is indissoluble.

Hence a Hindu marriage cannot be dissolved except (1) under the Native Convert's Marriage Dissolution Act, or (2) on the ground of custom. The former Act lays down that where a Hindu husband or wife adopts the Christian religion, the marriage can be dissolved by taking proceedings under the Act if the wife or husband of the convert refuses to cohabit with such convert on the ground of such conversion. It must be noted that the Act does not apply to conversion to a religion other than Christianity, and also that conversion does not *ipso facto* dissolve the marriage without any proceeding in the court. The custom of divorce exists among the lower castes of the Hindus in Maharashtra (Pat) and Gujerat (Natra). After the passing of the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act, remarriage of widows is legalised. Section 2 of the Act lays down that on remarriage all the existing rights of a widow in her husband's property, whether by way of inheritance or maintenance, shall cease, and determine as if she had then died. The Special Marriage Act of 1923 enables persons professing the Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh or Jania religion to celebrate a marriage before a Registrar under certain conditions (like monogamy, age limit, etc.).

Into such a conservative and slowly changing sphere of Hindu marriage, the Draft Code has introduced progressive and revolutionary changes. The Code lays down two types of Hindu Marriages which are equally legal and binding : the Sacramental and the Civil Marriage. The essential requisites of Sacramental Marriage are : (1) that neither party should have a spouse living at the time of marriage, (2) that neither party should be an idiot or lunatic at the time of marriage, (3) that the parties should not be within prohibited degrees of marriage, and (4) that they should not be *Sapindas* of each other. Thus, for the first time in the history of Hindu Law Reform, is the institution of monogamy introduced into Hindu Society. It is hereby made compulsory that a Hindu could have one wife and only one at a time. Bigamy and polygamy are made punishable offences. (Two persons are said to be within prohibited degrees if one is a lineal ascendant of the other, or was the wife or husband of the lineal descendant or ascendant of the other, or if the two are brother and sister, uncle and neice, aunt and nephew, or the children of two brothers). The Code lays down that a sacramental form of marriage might be performed according to customary ceremonies or by observing *Saptapadi*. The marriage becomes complete and binding when the seventh step is taken.

The essential requisites of a Civil Marriage are that (1) neither party should have a spouse living at the time of marriage ; (2) neither must be a lunatic or an idiot at the time of marriage ; (3) the man must have completed his 18th year and the woman her 14th year ; (4) if below 21 years, both must obtain consent of their respective guardians—provided that no such consent is necessary in the case of a widow.

The marriage is performed in the presence of a Registrar of Hindu Civil Marriages appointed by the Provincial Government, and three adult witnesses. The usual declaration made is: "I take thee to be my lawful wife (husband)."

The guardianship in marriage is in the following order : (1) father, (2) mother, (3) paternal grandfather, (4) brother, (5) paternal uncle, (6) maternal grandfather, (7) maternal uncle. As the Child Marriage's Restraint Act or the Sarda Act, prohibiting child marriages, does not invalidate child marriages as such but only punishes the persons who brought about such a marriage, it will be necessary to lay down the minimum age for the bride and bridegroom for valid marriage. The limits of 14 and 18 prescribed for the bride and bridegroom for marriages contracted in the civil form may, by making the necessary amendment, be made applicable to sacramental marriages as well.

Under the Code, a sacramental marriage contracted between two persons belonging to two different castes, cannot be impugned generally. Force or fraud must be clearly established before such a marriage can be annulled by a court of law. A provision for the optional registration of a sacramental form of marriage has also been made in the Code to place matters beyond all doubt. In all cases where the bride is a widow, or is not less than 21 years of age, and the bridegroom is also not under 21, a marriage in the civil form can be contracted between them even without the consent of the parents of either party. But ample safeguards have been provided to any party interested in their welfare to object to it, and seek to break off the engagement before it ripens into a marriage.

Divorce and Nullity of Marriage.—These two are entirely new conceptions to the general system of Hindu Law. The

ancient *Dharma-Shastras*, while liberally permitting the husband to remarry during the lifetime of the first wife, refuse the remedy of divorce to the wife even when completely forsaken by the husband ; like early Christianity, Hinduism also held that the marriage union was indissoluble ; Manu advances the extreme view that the wife's marital tie and duty do not come to an end even if the husband were to sell or abandon her. Recorded cases of divorce are not to be met with in Brahmanical tradition. In Buddhist literature, however, we meet with a few.

The provisions of the Draft Code relating to the nullity of marriage are as follows :—Either party to a marriage may present a petition to the District Court or to the High Court, praying that his or her marriage may be declared null and void on any of the following grounds :—(a) that the respondent was impotent at the time of the marriage and also at the institution of the suit ; (b) that the parties are within the prohibited degrees ; (c) that the parties are *Sapindas* of each other ; (d) that either was an idiot or a lunatic at the time of marriage ; (e) that the former husband or wife of either party was living at the time of the marriage. In this connection, it is significant that no time limit is fixed within which time alone the marriage could be declared null and void. Even though children might have been born out of such a marriage, the marriage itself could be declared as null, though the children are deemed to be perfectly legitimate (*Factum Valed*).

Divorce is contemplated in restricted cases. Under the Code a marriage can be dissolved only if one of the parties to it has been incurably insane for seven years, is suffering from an incurable form of leprosy, has deserted the other party unjustly for seven years, has become a convert to another religion, has been suffering from

venereal disease or, in the case of a woman, has been unchaste. Every decree for dissolution made by a District Court shall be subject to confirmation by the High Court.

• Another important change in marriage customs effected by the Draft Code is regarding the dowry. To check the dowry evil, the Code contains a very laudable provision whereby any property transferred as consideration for consenting to a marriage is to be held in trust for the benefit of the wife till she reaches the age of 18, whereafter she can demand a transfer of it to her name.

Minority, Guardianship and Adoption.—Now the law relating to Minority and Guardianship in the Code more or less reproduces the Hindu Law as it exists today in more unambiguous and explicit terms. It is a just though trite observation that the institution of adoption has created more case law than any other branch of Hindu Law at present existing. The Code has made the law in respect to adoption certain and very definite, accepting the most equitable system prevailing in the Bombay Province. According to it, a widow can adopt in all cases, where there is no prohibition by the husband either express or implicit, provided that the adoptee is (1) a Hindu ; (2) of the same caste as the adopter ; (3) unmarried ; (4) under 15 years of age ; (5) of the same *gotra* or *pravara* as the adopter provided his *upanayan* has not taken place ; (6) not already adopted.

All these conditions must be satisfied in order to make the adoption valid. The Code also settles the unsettled law regarding the extinction of a widow's right to adopt. This right to adopt becomes extinct if a widow remarries, or when any son of her husband dies, leaving behind him a surviving son or a widow.

To sum up, the Code seeks to make Hindu Law uniform throughout India and among the four castes ; all women have

been given the right of absolute estate ; the daughter inherits a half share ; the law relating to succession has been much simplified ; polygamy has been replaced by monogamy and divorce ; illegitimate children have been given merely the right of maintenance ; and the law relating to adoption is sought to be placed on a sound footing.

Already various individuals and associations throughout the country have voiced their protests against, as well as their appreciation of, the Draft Code. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, addressing a meeting organized by the Ashutosh College Girl Students' Union, said that if Hindu Society had persisted till today it was to no small extent due to its capacity for change. Resistance to change was the mark of dead or dying civilisations and readiness to change of live ones. If the Code exalted the ideal of monogamy, it was in line with Indian tradition. He argued that it was not fair to hold that the individual was only a means to society. Such was the faith of totalitarianism which they were fighting today. Hindus asserted the equality of rights of all individuals, high or low, male or female, in the matter of their spiritual destiny. It was only fair that they should have a claim on the property of their fathers.

Protest is voiced by a sub-committee of Hindu experts, led by Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, against the Draft Hindu Code. The committee observe : " While we are prepared to admit that there is some advantage in the codification of law, we do not believe that codification is desirable in the case of personal laws. Politically, it is not calculated to secure any greater advantage to the Hindus ; economically, the present code or the codification of the law would be a step backward as the proposed provisions would lead to fragmentation of estates, and the substitution of the individual for the family would make the members of Hindu Society weaker than

they are at present ; socially, we do not think the Hindu Society is going to gain anything by the codification. It won't tend to abolish caste nor would it tend to make the law more certain or more easily understandable."

A third point of view, that such a vital measure as the Hindu Code should not be taken into consideration by the legislature but should be postponed till a new legislature is constituted with members elected with the consideration of the Code as one of the specific issues before the country, was expressed some time ago at a largely attended conference of Hindus of Madras.

Finally, a word about Divorce and Nullity of Marriage. The object seems to be to raise the standard of morality rather than to lower it. The marriage tie will not be loosened very much since divorce is contemplated only in very restricted cases. There is bound to be a certain amount of criticism on this subject. But much of the criticism will be groundless. Again, if harmony is to prevail in every Hindu home, there must be some provision for the dissolution of a marriage which is now sought to be made monogamous. It may also be pointed out that the example of Hindus married according to the civil form has had its own effect in forming public opinion on the question of divorce.

A minor amendment can be made in the Draft Code in order to make it more beneficial to the public. The doctrine of *Factum Valed* may be applied in cases of marriages between persons within prohibited degrees, if the fact becomes known after a child or children are born.

In such cases it will be against public policy if the marriage is declared null and void on the application of one of the couple.

The Draft Hindu Code is a valiant effort to keep pace with the changed times and circumstances. In the modern age when Science has conquered time and space, no society can expect to live in isolation. Hindu Society is as dynamic as any other society on earth. One might wonder how the laws based on the *Smritis* which are thirty centuries old could stand unaltered to-day in a fast changing society. Doubtless to a great extent this is due to the dominance of the spiritual over the temporal aspect of life among the Hindus. Law and religion are inseparably linked in the Hindu mind and naturally there is an involuntary aversion to change them.

The Draft Code, as we have already seen, marks a great stride in the efforts for the emancipation of Hindu womanhood. Centuries of tradition and custom have played their part in denying social justice and equality with man which are the birth-rights of the Hindu woman. The success of the Code lies in the proper understanding by women of the rights which accrue to them when the Code is passed by the Legislature and becomes law. It is essential that the general Hindu public, especially the illiterate and ignorant women in the thousands of villages of India, should be educated in the necessity of such changes and encouraged to give them their whole-hearted support. Without such support the Code may not become the *Charter of Equality* for women which it purports to be.

NEWS AND NOTES

SOCIAL SECURITY IN U. S. IS WORLD'S LARGEST INSURANCE BUSINESS

• Testimony before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives reveals a strong movement within the United States to extend the nation's vast social security programme which went into effect in 1935.

At the Congressional Committee hearings, which serve as a public forum for the information of the nation's lawmakers, authoritative witnesses placed the United States on record as one of the nations which have tried broad social security plans and found them well worth their cost in relief of human suffering.

The United States plan, which already has done much toward the objective of "freedom from fear" includes eight principal programmes which may be grouped under three general headings :—

1. Social insurance consists of
(a) Unemployment Insurance, and (b) Old-Age and Survivors Insurance.
2. Public assistance is divided into
(a) old-age assistance, (b) aid to the needy blind and (c) aid to dependent children.
3. Health and welfare services consist of (a) child-welfare services, (b) services for crippled children and (c) maternal and child-health services.

In order to maintain the personal, local aspect of social welfare, the Federal Government works through state and local governments in all these programmes except that of old-age and survivors insurance. The varying needs of various sections of the country are recognized in this manner and the local character of laws which were in

force when the Social Security Act was passed is maintained.

Minimum Basic Security.—The stated purpose of the Social Security Act is to provide minimum basic security through social insurance to replace partially the wage loss resulting from old age, unemployment or death of the breadwinner of a family and through social assistance to the needy aged, the blind and dependent children who have lost the support or care of a parent.

Unemployment compensation is operated by the states under each state's law and the Federal Government pays the costs of administration. Its aim is to insure workers against brief periods of unemployment and thus to maintain families and keep up purchasing power.

Old-Age and Survivors Insurance is a nation-wide, federally operated system for replacing part of the wages lost when insured workers grow too old to work or when breadwinners die. It protects the family as well as the worker with long-term monthly benefits.

The public assistance programmes for the aged, blind and for dependent children cover many of the extreme hardship cases which occur in United States communities. Laws governing such assistance vary from state to state, and witnesses testifying before the committee recommend standardization and expansion of the programmes.

Among the suggestions made to improve the social security laws is one to extend benefits of security to millions of workers not now covered, such as persons employed by themselves, those employed in agriculture and as domestics and those employed by state and local governments.

Move To Cover All Workers.—The Social Security Board, which administers the act at present under the Federal Security Agency, recommends that Old-Age and Survivors Insurance be expanded to cover all gainful workers. It urges credit to servicemen for service in the armed forces, reduction of the qualifying age for women from 65 to 60 years, increase in benefits to low-paid workers and, among other things, eventual division of costs among employers, employees and the government.

The members of the Board also recommend that unemployment insurance be extended to include all employees and they recommend a Federal Law to cover seamen and employees engaged in inter-state commerce. Public assistance programmes, if the Board's recommendations are followed, would grant funds to states for general assistance to any needy person, irrespective of cause of need, as well as for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children. The Board also would increase Federal aid to states with lower incomes because need is greater precisely in those areas where poverty reduces the state programmes to an inadequate level.

The Federal Government manages its public assistance programmes by "matching" funds spent for such purposes by state governments. The system is operated under the laws of each state and the states and Federal Government share equally the cost of providing regular monthly cash payments to more than two million needy aged people, 60,000 blind persons and 700,000 needy dependent children.

Under the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance programme, 1,285,000 persons are receiving assistance payments from state governments. Insurance payments direct from the Federal Government to unemployed persons have varied considerably as employment increased or decreased. During recent months, claims paid under the Unemployment Insurance programme have dropped from more than 2,130,000 dollars to slightly over 1,842,000.

Recent Development.—The growth to such proportions of what has been termed the largest public insurance business in the world is comparatively recent. Although many states of the United States have administered social programmes for many years, most of them were based on "relief laws" which corresponded to a totally different concept from that which motivates the modern programme.

Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, said in a recent address:

"Hardly a decade ago the very term 'social security' had not come into existence. In those days, that now seem so remote, the discussions ranged around the question of whether we should even embark on a social security programme for this country."

Speaking of the new appreciation of human values throughout the world, Dr. Altmeyer continued: "Now social security is an accepted goal of the democracies, I might say the chief goal of the democracies."—USIS.

TO COMBAT FAMINE

AN IMPROVED METHOD OF USING GRAIN

The method now in vogue of first grinding grain into flour and then making chapatis or bread out of the flour is waste-

ful. The defects of the method are as follows:—

In the process of grinding in mills at

a high speed, the properties of protein, starch, cellulose and mineral salts are altered while the fat content is lost, as in the process the flour gets hot. In the preparation of dough of workable consistency, the flour absorbs only half the quantity of water to its own weight, with the result that starch does not swell and in turn makes the food only partly nutritive due to insufficient proportion of water. In the East, the dough is rolled into shapes called chapatis and puris which can neither be cooked nor baked, but fried with or without ghee or oils, and in so doing only a skin forms on both the sides. In the West, the dough is mixed with yeast for the preparation of spongy bread, but this too is neither fully nutritive nor hygienic as claimed, as the vitamins together with other constituents of food value are destroyed by the alcoholic fermentation due to the action of the yeast. Hence, the food prepared with this age-old process is neither tasteful and hygienic, nor fully nutritive and easily digestible, and even for partial digestion needs a large quantity of digestive fluids, like bile, gastric juice and pancreatic juice. That a sick person cannot be fed with this food is a popular recognition of this fact. Even biscuits cannot be said to be better. Again, not being easily digestible, it causes constipation, the cause of all disease. Besides, before the preparation of dough, the flour is sieved to remove bran, which means a loss. The flour being liable to easy attack by microscopic germs, it cannot be stored for a long time and considerable loss occurs in transport and use, all of which make its use uneconomical.

All these defects can now be surmounted with the process developed after extensive experiments conducted with a view to increasing the nutritive value of cereals, particularly wheat, bajri and jwar so that the food made out of these cereals can impart immense health.

According to this new process, a known quantity of wheat with about three and a half times water by volume, i.e., one pot of wheat and three and a half pots of water, or one lb. of wheat and four lbs. of water, is hydrated by gradual boiling, with or without the addition of a teaspoonful of sugar or jaggery under low heat, keeping the lid on if an ordinary pot is used. Prior to heating, if wheat is steeped in water for about 12 to 18 hours, fuel will be saved. In case a pressure cooker is employed, the ratio of wheat and water should be one to one and three-quarter by weight. The proportion of water to be used varies according to the quality of wheat. In so cooking or boiling, about two lbs. of water is removed by evaporation and starch, bran and other constituents swell by absorbing water, and wheat becomes meaty. In this manner, cooking or boiling should be continued till only a little water is left, which too will be absorbed by the wheat when it cools. Heating should neither be continued till water is completely evaporated, for then hydration will not be sufficient, nor should the water from the pot be thrown out, for if removed it means a loss of soluble constituents of wheat. When wheat is cooked completely, which can be seen either from its swollen state or by pressing between the fingers to determine the softness, a little salt may be mixed with it to impart taste.

Wheat so cooked should then be masticated or ground to a paste, which can be accomplished with the aid of mincers, or by grinding on a masala stone, or pressing with two wooden pieces. With the use of pressure cooker, wheat inside will be digested to a pulpy dough of workable consistency. The paste so made can be made into shapes like puris, chapatis and biscuits by the known method, and fried with or without known fats or oils, for consumption.

In places like Bombay where at times grain cannot be had but only flour, one may first make a dough of the flour as usual when making chapatis, put the dough in a piece of cloth and hang it over a pot of boiling water till the dough gets completely cooked with the steam. Chapatis should then be made out of the cooked dough, following the usual process.

The advantage of this new food is that by it about fifty-five per cent wheat is saved—forty per cent by the absorption of about one and three-quarter times water, ten per cent by retaining bran, and five per cent by elimination of wastage. This means that a month's provision will last for two months. Actually, with this process, the volume of wheat increases to two and a half times, i.e., one pot on cooking becomes two and a half pots. This means that from a quantity of flour required to make four chapatis with the old process, ten chapatis can be made from the same weight of wheat with this process, without altering the thickness and size.

Besides, the food is more tasty, hygienic, nutritive and easily digestible

as the known and unknown constituents of food value are retained and evenly distributed. As such, its consumption will add a marked amount of weight. Moreover, being easily digestible, it can be given even to sick persons. Also, the process will facilitate storage of wheat, bajri, jwar and like grains for a longer time without decay, and will save wastage in transport of flour. Moreover, it will dispense with flour mills.

Above all, this method will mean food for all. The adoption of this activated food in India will save every year about 8 to 12 million tons of wheat costing approximately Rs. 300 to 450 crores at the rate of Rs. 360 per ton and a similar quantity of valuable bajri and jwar. As such it will eliminate the present scarcity of cereals and will make the future bright for our famished people.

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INCREASING SCHOOL-COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION IN U.S. EDUCATION

In recent years United States schools have ceased to be "pedagogic islands" removed from all practical local interests and activities. As students and teachers responded vigorously to war needs—collected scrap and paper, sold bonds and stamps, served on ration boards, operated summer camps, and worked in child care centres and on farms—the relation of the school to city, town or neighbourhood gained in importance. Today school-community co-operation is being carefully evaluated as a permanently vital factor both in community life and in the national educational pattern.

In one such study, *Education for all American Youth*, which has been called "the most significant educational document of this decade," the National Education Association has presented by means of "samples" drawn from many parts of the United States, a plan for transforming all the 30,000 high schools and junior colleges in the United States into ideal community-schools most capable of filling the needs of contemporary youth.

Other studies envisaging the functions of such schools have recommended that their curricula be centered in a study of the

neighbourhood group processes and problems, that the students and faculty participate in advancing and reconstructing community activities, and that the school take the lead in co-ordinating group educational efforts.

Cautious educators have noted the danger that the community-school movement may concentrate upon community activity to the detriment of straightforward educational processes. Groups widely divergent in interest and approach—among them the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Southern Rural Life Council and the University of Virginia—have conducted research studies in the field of school-regional relations and have emerged with significant results and recommendations.

Controlled Experiments Being Conducted.—Discussion has centered upon the values and limitations of various educational tools or “bridges” between the school and the community. One technique—used by the schools of documentary materials planned to draw attention to local needs—is being investigated by the state universities of Florida, Kentucky and Vermont with the aid of their state departments of education and private grants. Eight member colleges in the American Association of Teachers’ Colleges are conducting controlled experiments to discover whether reading lessons and activity projects centered on better ways of living may help pupils and their families to improve home conditions.

Phonograph records developing community themes and materials have been used in rural schools in New York State. For example, in some classrooms elementary forest and field conservation programmes have been explained through record-lectures on nature-trail building. Ninety per cent of all teachers asked to

report on the value of this project called it successful in developing desirable social attitudes.

A five-year project involving 300 personal interviews by high school seniors with business and professional persons in their towns showed useful results as a source of systematic vocational guidance.

The field trip is another community source of learning experience. Actually seeing a neighbourhood at its daily work and play—visiting homes, markets, shops, civic centres—has proved an effective means of teaching tolerance and democratic attitudes and behaviour. Science field trips, carefully planned with the help of guide-books, may help pupils explore their physical environment.

All of these tools and techniques—reading materials, films, photographs, records, museum exhibits and field trips—have proved their effectiveness in war and peace.

Under special conditions—in the war years—the community-school relation found expression chiefly in local service projects. High school adolescents, with some adjustment of conditions and with competent supervision, could meet the need for adult labor on farms and in industry and commerce. Many high schools adjusted their educational programmes to allow students to share in this work and remain at school. The school curriculum was modified to include part-time school and part-time work programmes; programmes were dovetailed with seasonal work; some schools added vocational training in specially needed fields.

Popular Among Students.—Questionnaires showed that these programmes found one-hundred per cent popularity among students; parents, employers and teachers approved too, although somewhat more

moderately. In Illinois three cities cooperated with local Rotary groups in an experiment involving one-semester work-study projects. The student participants, their parents and the members of Rotary agreed that the experiment had proved valuable in giving students status as individuals and in teaching them the value of work and responsibility. Also stemming directly from war necessity was the increased importance of the school as a civic centre and its use by local groups as a social and political meeting place, for religious services, and, less frequently, for dances and commercial organizations and enterprises.

Inextricably a part of the whole school-community trend is the question of teacher-training. Surveys conducted to discover just how qualified modern teachers are to undertake specialized tasks in the community-school field have shown that about one-third of teacher-educational institutions offer some type of introduction to the philosophy, procedures and problems of neighbourhood-centered education.

Seminars, workshops and special opportunities for participation in local service projects are included in such training. One New York State teachers' college has described the process whereby a group of twelve teachers under professional guidance spent two weeks analyzing contrasting local communities. As a result of their research, the teachers were able to draw up new techniques for using the community as an educational laboratory, and to follow up and deepen their knowledge of special problems.

Experimental study has shown that in the past few years war-born trends towards greater school and community integration have yielded some unquestionably excellent results. In some spheres the effects of such integration are still undetermined. Questions of teacher training, financing, curriculum planning, and community adjustment still challenge the skill of the professional educator and the thoughtful consideration of the United States citizen.—

USIS.

TRAINING OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORKERS

(EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE BOMBAY HEALTH SURVEY AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE.)

The Sir Dorabji Tata School of Social Service in Bombay is, we believe, the only institution in India which provides facilities for the training of social workers. The school has, on the whole, followed the American model and in a two-year course it provides instruction for social workers in the fields of family and child welfare, adult delinquency and industrial and labour problems. There is also a course which includes medical and psychiatric social work and instruction on social case work and family case work. If the authorities who run the school are able to add instruction in certain special diseases such as

tuberculosis, venereal diseases, etc., courses will become available here for the training of social workers in a wide range of health activity.

There are no facilities, anywhere in the country, for the training of hospital social workers. We feel that adequate provision for this constitutes an urgent necessity. We have little doubt that the general efficiency of all the larger hospitals in India will be greatly increased by appointing trained hospital social workers on their staff, as has been the experience recently in Great Britain and in America. They are also required if the training of the medical

student in preventive medicine and public health is to be organized on sound lines. (Section 58 and 59 of Vol. 1, Chapter 13.)

An attempt has been made at the Sir Dörabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay to develop courses for social workers, and we have had the benefit of discussion with the Director of that school. It appears that the two-year graduate courses at present being given, in addition to the pre-professional and general courses, cover the following :—

- (1) Family and child welfare ;
- (2) Juvenile and adult delinquency ;
- (3) Industrial relations and labour problems ;
- (4) Administration of social work ;
- (5) Medical lectures for social workers ;
- (6) Mental hygiene and psychiatry for social workers ;
- (7) Social and family case work.

These courses as they stand are too very specialised and restricted, and would require considerable modification and expansion in order to meet the needs of a hospital service.

For the guidance of those who will have to devise suitable courses for India in this important department, reference should be made to the following authoritative works :—

- (1) *Hospital Organisation and Management* by Captain J. E. Stone—Chapter 22; and
- (2) *Hospital Organisation and Management* by M. T. MacEachern—Chapter 12.

(Section 159 and 160 of Volume 2, Chapter XVIII-B.)

We consider it extremely desirable that suitable persons should be sent

without delay to foreign countries where this branch of health work is receiving special attention, in order to acquire the necessary training and to study what is being done in those countries. On their return to India, they should be employed in initiating training schools for hospital social workers. (Section 162—Volume 2, Chapter XVIII-B.)

The Training of Psychiatric Social Workers.—The training of a hospital social worker is the same whatever the field in which she will eventually work, but psychiatry is an exception. The education of a psychiatric social worker requires a different training and different examinations. In addition to the general training referred to above, a candidate must spend an extra year in specialised training. The main functions of such workers are described in the Interim Report of Social and Preventive Medicine by the Royal College of Physicians (October, 1943) as follows :—

- (1) To obtain social histories by means of which the psychiatrist is enabled to see the patient more clearly against his domestic and wider social background.
- (2) To ensure that the patient's relatives, or others close to him, provide as far as they can the psychological and material environment judged necessary to further his recovery and maintain his mental health.
- (3) To bring the resources of the community to bear on the patient's needs, e.g., by referring some of his problems to employers, relief agencies, social clubs, etc., which can help him, and by aiding him to make the best use of the available facilities.

- (4) To ease by after-care the difficult transition from more or less dependent patient to self-reliant member of the community.
- (5) To carry out systematic social investigations needed for assessing the causes of good health and illness, the effectiveness of treatment, or other matters of medical and social import.
- (6) To educate the public—incidentally, in the course of her work, to take a sensible attitude towards mental health. She is well-placed to do this, and is a fitting intermediary. Teaching the public to discard harmful prejudices and to act promptly

to nip illness in the bud will be the special worker's business as well as the doctor's.

(Section 161—Volume, 2, Chapter XVIII-B.)

Both at Calcutta and Bombay facilities for the training of psychiatric social workers should be developed. The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work and the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital, when developed, should be able to participate in such training. The development of facilities for the training of psychologists can, we think, be undertaken in Calcutta where the Applied Section of Psychology of the Calcutta University and the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital can help in such training.

(Section 20—Volume 2, Chapter I—12.)

EYES FOR THE BLIND

The Seeing Eye dog, which has been trained to guide its blind master through the intricacies and dangers that confront a blind person in modern life, has literally become the eyes of countless blind people in the United States. And, with a number of American servicemen having lost their vision during the war, the Seeing Eye (an organization for training these dogs) at Morristown, New Jersey, has extended its facilities to these blind veterans.

The Seeing Eye recognized the possibility that a large number of servicemen might be rendered blind in combat duty at the very outset of the war. On December 8, 1941, the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor which precipitated the United States into the conflict, the board of directors of the Seeing Eye passed the following resolution :—

“ Resolved, that in order to aid in the war effort, effective immediately the Seeing Eye will, at no expense to

the federal government, endeavour to provide Seeing Eye dog guides for eligible persons, who as members of the armed forces of the United States, have lost their sight in line of duty, giving such persons priority over all other applicants for guide dogs.”

Although the number of soldiers and sailors coming out of the war without their sight has been far below original estimates, the Seeing Eye has followed through on its resolution. Officers of the institution have conducted extensive tours through army hospitals to tell doctors and nurses of the benefits the Seeing Eye could offer to the blind servicemen—information that helped greatly in the mental rehabilitation of the blind veteran. Then, as soon as the veteran receives his discharge from the armed forces, he is eligible to apply to the Seeing Eye for immediate entry and training.

Seeing Eye Dogs Commonplace Today.—Established in this country only 17 years ago, the Seeing Eye has done its work so well that it is almost commonplace today to see a blind man crossing a busy street corner in a metropolitan city, holding lightly to the U-shaped handle attached to his dog's harness and supremely confident that his animal guide will steer him safely past moving traffic to the opposite curb.

Without his Seeing Eye dog, such a person would be forced to spend his life in relative immobility, dependent on his friends and family for aid in even the simplest venture into unfamiliar surroundings. He would, thus, never regain the self-confidence he lost when he lost his vision. With the aid of their animal guides, however, 85 per cent of all Seeing Eye graduates are now employed in such professions as salesmen, teachers, lawyers, musicians and farmers, or are housewives or students.

The Seeing Eye, which selects and trains suitable dogs to act as eyes for the blind and trains the blind to rely on their dogs, had its beginning more than 20 years ago in Switzerland, at Fortunate Fields, the estate of Mrs. Dorothy Eustis, an American woman who, with Elliott S. Humphrey, the geneticist, was investigating the intelligence of dogs in relation to their service to mankind.

Three years later the Seeing Eye was established by American philanthropists in Morristown after Morris Frank, a blind American boy from Tennessee who had received training in Switzerland, had proved to skeptical American reporters that he could cross a busy street by relying solely on his dog for navigation.

New Concept of Philanthropy.—The Seeing Eye has been a pioneer in a new concept of philanthropy—that of helping

others to help themselves—and its financial policy as it relates to students has caused much comment and commendation. It is based on this assumption: blind people with spirit, like spirited people, rebel against support through charity. They want to pay their own way in the world—they do not want the Seeing Eye or anyone else to do this for them.

Each student, therefore, assumes an obligation to the Seeing Eye for \$ 150 for his dog and "tuition," board and lodging. When a Seeing Eye dog dies, the graduate who has satisfied requirements and otherwise remains eligible will again be entitled to Seeing Eye service at a total cost of only \$50. Eligible members of the U. S. armed forces are supplied with Seeing Eye dogs at a cost of only one dollar, which constitutes the "legal transaction" fee so that the serviceman can be entitled to full ownership of his dog.

Like the tuition at private colleges, this is far below actual cost but it represents to the blind student a fair charge asked of everyone and no blind student is burdened with a feeling of discrimination in his favor. The difference between the actual cost of the dog and training and the fees paid is assumed by the institution through its memberships, all of which are voluntary donations.

The blind students are asked to pay the nominal charge if they have it—if not, they are asked to indicate their good faith and willingness to pay by assuming an obligation to pay it later, when and as they can. Frequently it is paid out of earnings that the dogs help make possible.

No blind man or woman is ever refused a Seeing Eye dog because of lack of funds with which to meet his charge. On the other hand, no one may assume this obligation for a blind person—it is his responsibility

and by his willingness to undertake it, he offers important evidence of his eligibility for a Seeing Eye dog.

When this policy was announced, it met with an immediately favourable response from blind people. Some of them declared that for the first time in their lives, they had a "credit rating." Others said it gave them a feeling of self-confidence to know that they could be depended upon to meet a financial obligation. As one blind person put it, payments to the Seeing Eye are not made for a dog but for self-respect.

In selecting dogs for training at the Seeing Eye Institution, the instructors have learned that the dog must be able not only to assimilate education; it must also be willing to use what it has been taught in a way that will not endanger its blind master. The dog must be able to reason and, by reasoning, not by instinct, determine when a course of procedure would be dangerous to follow. Then it must be able to reason out what can be done that would be safe.

With this objective in mind, the Seeing Eye has discovered that the German shepherd, or "police" dog, makes the best guide for a blind person and, consequently, almost 95 per cent of the dogs trained at the institution are of that breed. The essential quality of being able to reason is present in some other breeds, but in those of the right size, strength and with a coat of fur that is easily kept clean, it occurs only in exceptional individuals. The Seeing Eye has been successful with a number of selected animals from a hunting type of dog, such as the Chesapeake and the Labrador Retriever, and also with the Boxer.

According to Dickson Hartwell, author of the book *Dogs Against Darkness*,

the education of a dog at the Seeing Eye Institution covers a period of three months and is divided into three sections or phases. These are obedience exercises, guide work and the all-important "educated disobedience."

During the first phase, the special instructor in this field gives the dog a series of exercises, which every dog should have at the end of its puppyhood. They are primarily designed to give the dog an understanding of its relationship to a human being and to teach it something of its rights and the rights of its master.

In these obedience exercises, there are several specific commands to which the dog is taught to respond. It learns to run immediately to the side of the instructor when its name is called together with the word "come." It learns to sit, to lie down and to stand up again on request, and to fetch an article that has been dropped or tossed a distance away.

Prompt response to these commands will be essential in its relationship to its blind master. It will also be important throughout its schooling at the Seeing Eye, for these commands are used as daily routine setting-up exercises, which serve to sharpen the dog's interest in the more complicated lessons that follow.

Almost all the dogs that start the course pass this period of instruction. The few that do not pass are sold. Those that succeed are ready for more advanced lessons.

After obedience training, the dog studies the technique of working in a guiding harness. The dog quickly becomes accustomed to the feel of the harness on its body and the harness is designed so that it does not hamper the wearer's movements in any way.

The first lessons teach the animal where it should walk in relation to the man

it is guiding—on the left side with somewhat more than half the body of the dog ahead of the instructor.

From this point on the instructor must act to the dog as if he were blind. Anything that would impede the progress of a blind person must also interfere with the progress of the instructor. If a scaffolding would bump the head of a person who couldn't see, it must also bump his head. Or, as usually happens, he must make the dog think it does.

Where a blind person would run into a tree or into a pedestrian, the instructor does also. A dog must learn by experience to allow sufficient clearance for the man on his side so that he does not touch anything.

Probably the most difficult lesson for the dog in the entire course is one that people rarely appreciate. This is learning to stop at curbs. This is a difficult lesson for the dog in comparison with stopping for an automobile, for example, because it isn't natural for a dog to stop at a curb, while the penalty for failure to stop for an automobile is obvious.

Curbs are a matter of vital concern in the life of a Seeing Eye dog. First and foremost, every blind person using a Seeing Eye dog gets his primary points of orientation at street corners. When it comes to the end of a block, the dog guides its master straight to the curb directly ahead and stops. The blind man gives the command for the direction in which he wishes to go—right, left or forward, and the dog proceeds to the curb at the next corner, and so forth.

The education of suitable instructors for the dogs has been the Seeing Eye Institution's weightiest problem, a problem that is still largely unsolved. The extent of it is clearly seen in the fact that in its first 12 years, the Institution was able to produce only six men who could be termed instructors.

The apprentice instructors first work as kennel assistants and then go on to primary work in obedience training, learning voice culture and how best to command the dogs. The apprentice then begins his month of "blindness," during which he wears a light-proof eye-shade day and night while going through the same Seeing Eye course of instruction in learning to use a guide dog that would be given to him if he had suddenly lost his sight.

At the end of this month's course, he has some appreciation of the problems involved in blindness. He knows what it is like to shave and dress and eat in the dark and to go around with and without a dog. He gains an understanding of the reactions that a person, who cannot see, will have to lessons given by a seeing instructor. He has had it fully brought home to him that one doesn't tell a blind person in which direction to go by pointing, nor does one describe visually some land-mark by which a blind person is expected to identify his location.

Just as the dog and the instructor must both pass through their periods of training the blind person who is ultimately to own and use the dog as his guide must also go through an intensive course of study at the Seeing Eye Institution. He is taught not merely how to walk in confidence but also how to walk freely, rapidly and with grace and strength. The student's voice sometimes needs training, for it is the medium of communication between dog and master; habitual gruffness, too much variation of mood expressed in tone must be corrected.

Hector Chevigny, a blind author who went through his training at the Seeing Eye Institution, declared that the dogs recognize the difference between the blind and the visioned but that what makes the dog finally decide to assume full responsibility for his blind master seems beyond human understanding.

"He will go to sleep under his master's bed at Seeing Eye one night and awaken the next morning with it," Chevigny said. "From that point on, the master is safe. He can cross any street or proceed up the most crowded sidewalk with assurance. His period of training, except for a few technical pointers, is over. He is ready to go home."*

Though there is always a short waiting list, the agency manages to keep pace with the demands of blind men and women from every part of the country who are eligible for Seeing Eye dogs. Eligibility in this instance means coming between the ages of 17 and 55, with a few exceptions, and having an instinctive liking for dogs.

The success of the Seeing Eye Institution and the interest it has aroused in the general American public is evidenced by the fact that the United States Congress passed a special bill in 1937, enabling a blind person to carry his Seeing Eye guide on all public transportation vehicles throughout the country without extra charge. Before this bill was passed, train companies would allow dogs to ride only in their baggage cars and the bus companies prohibited dogs from riding in buses at any time.

The thrill that comes to a blind person when, for the first time, he walks down a crowded street and crosses to the opposite curb with his dog, was expressed by the noted author and playwright, Austin Strong, who, although not blind, took the course of study at the Seeing Eye so that he could be a spokesman for the institution. Strong wore the light-proof eye-shade that the instructors wear for a complete month at the institution while learning to be guided by a dog, and wrote the following after he had taken his first solo walk with his animal guide, who led him across a highway on the outskirts of Morristown:—

"Suddenly the full realization of what had happened hit me. It was as if my insides

had been pulled out like elastic bands far beyond their limit and then snapped back into position. I had been led safely through disaster by an animal. I understood in a small degree what a blind student goes through when he finds for the first time that he can put all his faith in his guide, trusting his life with perfect confidence to a new pair of vigilant eyes and ears."

The following incident was also related by Strong at the end of his training course:—

"It is seldom in a prosaic world that we hear pure poetry. I had been following a heavy-set woman, born blind, who was having a difficult time keeping her head up as she stumbled along after her young guide, for the tendency of some sightless men and women is to walk with bowed heads, so heavy is their burden.

"For two weeks I had watched her as she floundered along the sidewalks, trying awkwardly to catch the rhythm of her eager young dog. I felt for her and was very dubious that she would ever make the grade. But on the 14th day the miracle happened, as it usually does, on schedule time.

"The great moment came when she and her dog clicked and became a triumphal unit, co-ordinating smoothly together. I watched her stepping out, anxiety wiped from her face, beaming with confidence, speeding in perfect unison with her partner through the streets of Morristown, the dog waving his plumed tail proudly. I could see the girl's lips were moving as if she were reciting some litany.

"As luck would have it, we ran into each other at the next corner. She came toward me with a radiant face, head up and shoulders squared. I stood aside to let her pass, and couldn't help hearing the words she was repeating under her breath, over and over again, as she sped after her young leader.

"'Fly on, my wings, fly on!' she chanted. 'Fly on, my wings!'"—USIS.

TATA INSTITUTE NEWS

Alumni Chronicle

Miss G. K. Appalaswamy (TISS '42) who was Officer-in-charge, Rural Development Board, Sangaraddi, Hyderabad (Dn.), has joined the Labour Department of the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad as Lady Labour Welfare Officer.

Miss B. D. Bharucha (TISS '46) has joined the Poona Parsi Seva Mandal, Poona, as Social Worker.

Mr. B. W. Bijapurkar (TISS '44) formerly Labour Welfare Inspector, Sitarampore, Bengal, is now appointed Chief Labour Welfare Officer (Mines), Dhanbad.

Miss K. M. Engineer (TISS '46) has joined temporarily the staff of the Institute as Field Work Assistant.

Mr. A. B. Jogleker (TISS '44) has again joined the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, as Probation Officer after working for a short while with the Associated Cement Companies.

Mr. P. V. Kamath (TISS '46) has been appointed Labour Welfare Officer, Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., Bombay.

Mr. G. J. Katticaran (TISS '46) is now working as Labour Welfare Officer, Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., Tatapuram, Cochin State.

Miss J. G. Khanderia (TISS '46) has been appointed Superintendent, Kasturba Training Centre, Sabarmati.

Mr. J. J. Panakal (TISS '46) has joined the staff of the Institute as Assistant Secretary.

Mr. K. Paul (TISS '46) also has joined the staff of the Institute as Field Work Assistant.

Mr. G. S. Pillay (TISS '45) has been recently appointed as Labour Officer, A. D. Cotton Mills Ltd., Quilon, Travancore.

Miss Vrinda Sharma (TISS '46) has accepted the post of the Assistant Lady Labour Welfare Officer of the Government of Bombay.

Mr. Wilfred Singh (TISS '40) has resigned his post of the Superintendent, Remand Home, Surat, and has succeeded Mr. J. Barnabas as Organising Secretary of the Social Service League, Lucknow.

* * *

Dr. K. R. Masani.—Dr. Masani, who was in charge of the Child Guidance Clinic and part-time lecturer on psychiatry in the Institute left for Sweden last April along with Mrs. Masani who has been ailing for the past two years. During his stay abroad Dr. Masani proposes to study the latest advances in psychiatry, child guidance, mental hygiene and juvenile delinquency in Great Britain and other European countries. He may also visit the United States. We trust that the change to Sweden would help Mrs. Masani to regain her normal health and that Dr. Masani will be benefitted much by this study of modern trends in the fields of his interest.

* * *

Reception to Juniors.—In order to promote better social relationship between the students of the Junior and Senior Classes and the members of the staff, the Institute arranges for many social events. The highlight of social activities was on the evening of Saturday, July 6th, 1946, when a reception to the Juniors was arranged. The entire student body joined to make this inspiring function a success. Dr. Kumarappa introduced the Juniors to the

Seniors who had all returned after the holidays. Mr. K. N. Randeria of the Senior Class welcomed the Juniors on behalf of the Seniors with the pride that is often the monopoly of the Seniors. Mr. Sharma representing the Juniors spoke with the characteristic modesty displayed by a 'fresher.' His speech was much enjoyed by everyone. The Juniors particularly were delighted with the programme as a whole and its purpose.

* * *

Mrs. H. D. Bhatt.—On Friday the 26th July a farewell reception was given to Mrs. Bhatt who is going abroad to study welfare services for women and children. Mrs. Bhatt who took her training in the Institute has been working for the last two years as Field Work Assistant. She is proceeding first to England where she hopes to spend about six months making a study of nursery schools and welfare services for women. And then she intends to visit the United States for a similar study. After a few farewell speeches both by the students and members of the Faculty, Mrs. Bhatt in her speech stated briefly what she hopes to do abroad and thanked the students and the Faculty for the co-operation extended to her during her association with the Institute.

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Congratulations.—Mr. Yasovardhan ('47) was married to Miss Kamini Devi, daughter of Mr. Krishna Narayan, Managing Director, "National Herald," Lucknow. We wish the wedded couple a long and happy married life.

'New Additions to the Faculty

Prof. S. C. Roy.—A unique addition to the Faculty is that of a blind professor, Mr. S. C. Roy. Though eye-sight constitutes one of the essential physical faculty, Mr. Roy, who became totally blind at

the age of eight, relied on the other senses, usually the tactual sense, in acquiring knowledge and skills, and had a uniformly brilliant academic career. He took his M.A. from the University of Calcutta and his B.L. from the same University. Later on he left for America on a fellowship awarded by the Calcutta University and obtained the M.A. degree from the University of Columbia. Moreover, Mr. Roy has taken the Diploma of the National Institute for the Blind, London. He has travelled round the world thrice and is the author of the book entitled *The Blind in India and Abroad*, and was a lecturer at the University of Calcutta when he was appointed to the Faculty of the Tata Institute. He maintains that a visually handicapped person can function very much like a sighted person if proper facilities are given. Since Mr. Roy has demonstrated in his own life what he preaches, he has been appointed to the Faculty to be a source of inspiration to the students of the Tata Institute who are undergoing postgraduate training in social work and whom he instructs on the Problems of the Handicapped. Further, the plan is also to make his services available to other agencies interested in the problems and social treatment of persons who are blind. This appointment, it is hoped, will provide Mr. Roy ample opportunities to promote the cause he represents.

Dr. Mrs. Kamala Bhoota.—Other additions to the Faculty include Dr. Bhoota who has just returned from the United States. After her educational career in India, Dr. Bhoota went over to the United States in 1937 for post-graduate studies. There she specialised in child psychology and allied subjects and received her doctorate from the Michigan University in 1941. She also underwent training at the Merrill Palmer School which is one of the outstanding institutions for nursery school

education. Thus she has the advantage of combining theoretical knowledge with practical experience in the treatment and training of children. Though she was appointed in July, 1945, she could not return to India earlier owing to passage difficulties. She arrived in India in May 1946, and assumed her duties from the beginning of this term. In addition to her lecture work, Dr. Bhoota has been placed in charge of the Child Guidance Clinic.

Dr. Miss A. Dastur has been appointed as part-time lecturer. She received her M.A. from the Bombay University in 1938 and worked as a lecturer at the Wilson College, Bombay, for a year. Since 1939 she has been a lecturer at the Sophia College, Bombay. She is not a stranger to us as she worked for a brief period as an Assistant in our Bureau of Research and Publications. She severed her connection with the Institute in order to complete her doctoral dissertation on "Man and his Environment." She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the Bombay University in 1945. At present she lectures on Sociology and Social Economics at the Institute, and we are happy to have her back with us.

Visiting Professors from the United States

Miss Lois Blakey.—It has for sometime been the ambition of the Director to bring out Visiting Professors from the United States to help in the expansion of the Institute in new directions. As the United States stands out from among the many countries which have made remarkable progress in the field of applied social sciences, such a programme will help the development of new types of social services in our country. Some two years ago the Health Survey and Development Committee (Bhore Committee) expressed the desire that the Tata Institute of Social Sciences should undertake the responsibility of training medical social workers for our hospitals. During

his recent visit to the United States, the Director tried his best to secure the services of an outstanding Professor of Medical Social Work to come out to India to help in organizing this section of the Institute. But owing to conditions created by the war, the Universities themselves were short of staff and so no suitable person could be found.

Before he returned to India, the Director entrusted this matter to the State Department. Now that most of the ex-service personnel are back, it has been possible for the Department to secure a suitable person. The candidate chosen is Miss Lois Blakey of the Division of Social Service Administration, Louisville University, Kentucky. After her training and experience in Medical Social Work, Miss Blakey served in the Seventh General Hospital in Europe during the war and has been highly recommended. She is expected to arrive in India in the month of November, 1946, and will remain on the Faculty for a period of two years. We are looking forward to the pleasure of welcoming her to our midst.

Miss Mary Sweeny, who has worked for over twenty years in the Merrill Palmer School, is coming out to India for one year. Merrill Palmer School is the institution which pioneered the movement for education for marriage and family life. Miss Sweeny is a well known authority on nutrition as well as on education for marriage and family life. She will lecture at the Institute for a brief period. Her desire is to visit important centres in India conducting study and discussion classes on the above-mentioned subjects, arrangements for which will be made by the All India Women's Conference which has agreed to co-operate with the Institute in making the best use of her visit. We are happy that Miss Sweeny will soon be with us, and we are thankful to the Agricultural Missions Incorporated for sponsoring her visit.

Class of 1946-48

1. Bhagawat, S. N.
B.A., Agra University, 1943.
Dewas. C. I.
2. Bhatt, Miss N. J.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1946.
Bhavanagar, Kathiawar.
3. De, Miss I.
B.A., Calcutta University, 1934 ;
B.T., " " 1935.
Calcutta.
4. Dixit, S. K.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1946.
Bombay.
5. D'Silva, Miss C. M.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1946.
Bombay.
6. Gupta, A. N.
B.A. (Hons.), Delhi University, 1946.
Delhi.
7. Javeri, Miss M. R.
B.A., Bombay University, 1943 ;
M.A., " " 1945.
Bombay.
8. Kagal, Mrs. T.
B.A., Delhi University, 1946.
Simla.
9. Khan, M. M. A.
B.A., Madras University, 1944.
Hyderabad, Deccan.
10. Krishnaswami, C. S.
B.A. (Hons.), Madras University, 1945.
Madras.
11. Malani, Miss S.
B.A., Allahabad University, 1939.
Karachi, Sind.
12. Mane, N. R.
B.A., Bombay University, 1946,
Jejuri, Poona.
13. Misra, M. H.
B.A., Allahabad University, 1944
M.A., " " 1946.
Jaunpur, U. P.
14. Mistri, Miss P. P.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1946.
Bombay.
15. Rai, S. M.
B.A. (Hons.), Nagpur University, 1946.
Nagpur, C. P.
16. Rajurkar, S. G.
B.A., Madras University, 1945.
Hyderabad, Deccan.
17. Ranade, Miss M. G.
LL.B., Bombay University, 1940.
Poona.
18. Rangiah, N. C. B.
B.A., Mysore University, 1944 ;
LL.B., Bombay University, 1946.
Nerle, Mysore.
19. Gopalakrishna Rao, T.
B.A. (Hons.), Andhra University, 1945.
Anantapur, Madras.
20. Roovala, Miss B. N.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1946.
Bombay.
21. Sharma, G. R.
B.A., Allahabad University, 1946.
Khurja, U. P.
22. Sharma, Miss M.
B.A., Lucknow University, 1946.
Lahore, Punjab.
23. Sinha, Miss U.
B.A., Benares Hindu University, 1945.
Benares.
24. Sobhani, Miss H. Y. Z.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1946.
Bombay.

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| <p>25. Sollis, W. A. Rev.
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1935;
T.D., ,, ,, 1946.
Bombay.</p> <p>26. Sourimuthu, M.
B.A., Madras University, 1940.
Bangalore.</p> <p>27. Sultan, M. A. A.
B.A., Osmania University, 1944.
Hyderabad, Deccan.</p> | <p>28. Talpallikar, Miss M. B.
Hyderabad, Deccan.</p> <p>29. Talukdar, K.
B.A. (Hons.), Dacca University, 1943.
Bogra, Bengal.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Non-Diploma Student</p> <p>30. Srivastava, Miss M.
Cawnpore, U. P.</p> |
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BOOK REVIEWS

Criminal Careers in Retrospect. By Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. New York : Commonwealth Fund, 1943. Pp. 380. \$ 3.50.

Criminal Careers in Retrospect traces through a five-year period the life experiences of a group of men who had been inmates of the Massachusetts Reformatory. This volume represents the third part of a series of follow up studies intended to show what happens to former offenders as they are confronted with the social and economic obligations and responsibilities of the average citizen. The first of the post-reformatory period was described in a volume entitled *500 Criminal Careers* ; the study of the second five-year period was entitled *Later Criminal Careers* ; while the third five-year period following release is described in this volume. The men were released in 1921 and 1922. This study covers the years from 1931-32 to 1936-37.

The present work, however, has a much broader purpose than merely to brief a series of case histories over five depression years. In the words of the authors :—

“Our major purpose..... is to determine their behaviour during the various forms of peno-correctional treatment to which they have been subjected from the onset of their criminal careers, and to determine the trend of their behaviour over the fifteen-year span following expiration of their sentences from the Reformatory. We want to know why it is that some of them responded better to certain forms of peno-correctional treatment than did the others, why some reformed and others did not, and whether it might have been possible to determine in advance of treatment what was the likelihood of their successful adjustment.”

The careers of the 418 men available for study out of the original 510, have been

analysed in great detail. Facts are presented about family and personal backgrounds, family relationship, economic status, employment, use of leisure time, contact with social agencies, number and nature of arrests, types of offences, number of convictions, and peno-correctional experiences. The responses of these men to probation, parole, and institutionalisation have been analysed in terms of some pre-reformatory differences in family and personal background.

The authors acknowledge the superficiality of many criteria upon which they have been forced to rely in evaluating success and failure, but the findings are interesting and significant. Although there is variation among the basic traits and backgrounds of the successes and failures under the several forms of treatment, the comparisons emphasize the value of native endowment and normal environmental relationships, especially in the earlier years, in stabilising the individual against a life pattern of criminal activity.

Pointing out that courts and parole boards have erred frequently in placing on probation, sentencing, and paroling individuals, the Gluecks have constructed for experimental use a set of carefully tested prediction tables. Admitting that this device cannot be used alone to determine the form of treatment, they suggest it as a broad base upon which to employ the procedure of individualisation that should further help us to see each individual as different from the rest. This extensive and scholarly research should stimulate all, regardless of whether one's interest is in theory, methodology, or the treatment of the young offender.

J. J. P.

Social Learning and Imitation. By Neal E. Miller and John Dollard. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1945. Pp. 284.

Imitation has long been an important concept in social theory as well as in social practice. In their endeavour to explain how societies are organized and held together, how cultures are transmitted from one generation to the next, social scientists have made use of the concept of imitation. As a key idea in theory and practice, it has been the subject of much systematic discussion.

The authors of the work under review have made a fresh attack upon the problem with a set of concepts which seem peculiarly relevant to it. If imitative tendencies are not instinctive, they must be learned, the argument runs. This book offers a detailed discussion of how such learning takes place.

The volume begins with a brief resume of the fundamentals of a theory of social learning. The social conditions and psychological principles are exemplified in experiments on imitative behaviour. The utility of learning theory as an integrative instrument in sociology is shown by applications to problems such as those of

social attitudes, social status, crowd behaviour and diffusion.

Those who work with the principles of learning cannot evolve a theory of social behaviour without understanding the social order which sets the conditions for human learning. Conversely, technicians in the social sciences must consent to take some account of the principles governing that long learning experience, which fits any individual for participation in the social order. From psychology, then, are derived the fundamental principles of learning, and from social sciences its prime conditions. Each field has valuable contributions to offer to the other, and both are essential to the eventual goal of an integrated science of behaviour.

The book is a co-operative enterprise in the fullest sense of the word. The exposition is rigorous enough for technicians and yet clear and informative enough for others.

J. J. P

Freedom Is More than a Word. By Marshall Field, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945.

The author pleads in the main for freedom of expression by newspapers based on a free and unfettered supply of facts. As a working journalist—he is the founder of the *Chicago Sun* and is closely associated with *P.M.*, the progressive New York paper—he is familiar with the inner working of a newspaper office; garbled facts, biased versions, dishonest news-gathering, vested interests of news agencies get in the way of freedom of expression.

Mr. Field is essentially interested in the circulation of news in the United States of America. A substantial part of the book

deals with the policy of *P.M.*, and the founding of the *Chicago Sun* and its struggle to survive against the all-powerful Associated Press of America. He opines that verbal assurances, even legal guarantees in Bills of Rights as in U. S. A., do not secure to man his legitimate freedoms which continue to be just so many words. To make freedom more than a word, vigilance and an active public opinion are necessary. He is against large newspaper combines which throttle freedom of expression and publication of news unpalatable to powers that be.

There is a sincerity of purpose running through the book from cover to cover ; the reader is impressed by the fervent pleas for freedom but finds that Mr. Field cannot shake himself free from the " liberal " tradition. The new world he

envisages is to be the old world with a few alterations, not a new order of society based on equality of opportunity ; rather, he fights shy of radical changes.

A. D.

" War and the Middle Class : An Inquiry into the Effects of Wartime Middle Class Families in Bombay City." By Messrs. J. J. Anjaria, D. T. Lakdawala and S. A. Pandit. (University School of Economics and Sociology). Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1946. Pp. 33. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

" It seems to be beyond dispute, however, that the middle class has suffered during the war a reduction not only in the articles of so-called comforts and luxuries but in essential protective foods and this in spite of running into a deficit."

This is the conclusion which the authors of *War and the Middle Class* have reached after a study based on facts collected from more than 450 middle-class families in Bombay. As an analysis of the " effect of the war on income and expenditure " of a particular class, the study is of great interest. Some of the more important conclusions reached are :-

- (i) The income per family has increased on an average by 27%.
- (ii) The expenditure on food items rose by 99% for all the families together in spite of the fact that there was no appreciable rise observed in the consumption of food grains and though there was an actual fall registered in the consumption of such protective foods as milk, ghee, sweet oil, potatoes, meat, etc.
- (iii) The percentage of income devoted to rent declined due to rent control.
- (iv) The expenditure on clothing and other household effects fell considerably in the case of

two groups of families inspite of the sharp rise in cloth prices, indicating thereby that there were far-reaching economies effected in the consumption of cloth.

These facts, as the authors point out, do not compare very favourably with the conditions during war in U. S. A. where in spite of the strain caused by war demands it was still possible to increase consumption by 20%, nor even with those in Britain where food control ensured a minimum of nutrition in spite of difficulties of import and home production.

Besides being instructive to the general reader, the pamphlet is of some scientific importance too. It is a study, however partial, of the effects of a changing economy on the people of a country. More such studies covering the other strata of society would " throw valuable light on questions like the stabilisation of prices, consumers, subsidies, etc."

The authors and the publishers are to be congratulated on undertaking a work which is of popular interest as well as of scientific value. It is, however, to be hoped that in future, an attempt will be made to make the presentation of facts even simpler by means of diagrams and charts, so that it becomes educative even to the uninitiated layman.

M. S. Gore.

Personnel Management and Industrial Relations. By Dale Yoder, Ph.D., New York, Prectice-Hall Inc. 1944. Pp. 848.

Personnel management is the managerial aspect of industrial relations. Its principles represent the answers that business and industrial administration gives to the numerous and complicated questions arising out of modern industrial relations. In Chapter 1 the meaning and content of the field of personnel administration are described. Chapter 2 presents a brief historical summary of the factors that led to the emergence of personnel management and to its present significance in modern business and industry. Chapter 3 is devoted to a description of the approaches that have been most commonly utilised in studying and developing the present body of principles and practices. Chapter 4 explains some of the simpler and more frequently used statistical tools requisite for the study of personnel management.

Other fields of administrative activity covered by the book include job analysis, recruitment, selection, training for industry, working hours, service rating, wage plans and policies, promotion and transfer, health of employees, interest and morale, employment and unemployment, employment stabilisation and personnel services. The author has emphasised the point that an effective personnel programme depends upon the active co-operation and participation of all departments.

There is an extensive reference throughout the book to psychological contributions

to the field. Administrators are dealing with human beings—personalities whose inherent tendencies and impulses, whose characteristic reactions, whose hopes and aspirations are being revealed by the study of human behaviour. Determination as to how industrial procedure may be best adapted to this human nature, which is the animating power of industry, is therefore conditioned primarily by our knowledge of that nature, and a knowledge of the critical points of its suppression, conflict and maladjustment in industry.

Personnel Management and Industrial Relations reflects the valuable suggestions of those who made extensive use of *Personnel and Labour Relations*, the predecessor of this book written by the same author.

Modern industrial relations are, like much of the rest of contemporary civilisation, difficult to appraise and understand. The complicated problem that faces industry today is : under what conditions of personnel attitude and of economic and corporate organization are people likely to be disposed to work together happily and to best advantage in creating the goods that we all need ? An adequate solution for this problem is not yet within our grasp. If this is true, there is all the more justification for centering attention on the aspects of personnel work which seem closest to the core of this problem.

J. J. P.

Man, Morals and Society. By J. C. Flugel. New York : International Universities Press, 1945. Pp. 328.

The failure of our civilisation to solve many of its vital problems, and above all its involvement in two world wars within a quarter of a century, makes it imperative that we should re-evaluate our values and reconsider fundamental moral problems in the light of our recent war experiences and of the contributions of modern social science to an understanding of human problems. Hence, *Man, Morals and Society* is a timely publication.

Ethics is closely associated with other disciplines concerned with human life such as anthropology, medicine, economics, sociology and psychology. As these branches of knowledge grow, their relations with ethics require periodical revision. In the field of psychology there has been, during the last twenty years or so, considerable amount of research on aspects of mental life which clearly have a most intimate bearing on ethics. It is true that there is still much confusion and controversy within the field of psychology itself, that many of the important provisional conclusions are the outcome of the work of the school of psychoanalysts, and that even among the members of this school there are still differences of opinion on certain fundamental points.

Nevertheless, observing that we are very far from solving the greatest problems of our civilisation and that a dissatisfaction with contemporary moral notions prevails, Flugel states that it is time to review recent developments in psychology with a view to noting their implications for a revision of ethical thought. Since the

urgent demand to consider fundamental moral problems coincides with apparently important discoveries in an intimately related field, the author has done well in attempting a review of these discoveries in the light of their ethical implication.

Subjects dealt under separate headings include Psychology and Morals, Conscience and Will, Taboo and its Equivalents, Need for Punishment, the Psychology of Moral Progress and the Problem of Religion. The final chapter points out that war offers the attractions of adventure, social unity, freedom from individual worries and restriction, and an outlet for aggression. On the other hand, to foster peace, we should, declares the author, be concerned with the welfare of the individual rather than with that of the state, develop loyalty to a world organization and reduce national loyalty and learn to co-operate. In short, we should re-educate ourselves and view progress as an all-embracing human goal.

In the past a few excellent books have attempted to deal with the relation between ethics and psychology. Some of the best of these, however, are getting out of date, and the work under review is a fresh attempt in this direction. The value of the work lies in its well-rounded and up-to-date discussion of the super-ego. As an intellectual effort directed to the solution of mankind's problems of living together in peace and goodwill in a world which has shrunk into a neighbourhood, this volume, to say the least, is outstanding.

J. J. P.

Contemporary Psychopathology : A Source Book Edited by Silvan S. Tomkins.
Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A., 1944.

This valuable source book consists of research articles by America's 54 leading psychologists and psychiatrists, such as Margaret A. Ribble, David M. Levy, William Menninger, A. H. Maslow and others. The articles had appeared in the various scientific journals and are brought together in this volume for the convenience of students and scientists. Though primarily intended for an under-graduate student of psychology in the American universities, the volume is also of great value to physicians, psychologists and social scientists.

The book has four sections. The first section includes material on the Mental Diseases in Childhood. Here we learn that the act of sucking in infants appears to satisfy three different things for the growing infant, namely, the getting of nutriment, the stimulation of the respiratory mechanism and, finally, the getting of "lactile stimulation which seems to be as necessary for the progressive development of the higher associative faculties as food is for tissue development." Research points out that mothering care is vitally essential to an infant and that the infants deprived of it show a behaviour characterised by general negativism or depression. Negativism may show itself locally in a refusal to suck, with a complete loss of appetite, or failure to assimilate food. The negativism is accompanied by hypertension of all the bodily muscles and shallow breathing. The depressive type of infants make a few sucking movements in response to stimulus situation, but quickly fall asleep. The sleep takes on a quality of stupor and the child does not awake for the next feeding, but has to be tickled or shaken by the mother or the nurse in order to be aroused. Both types of reaction involve reaction to the growing child.

Another highlight of the section is David M. Levy's article on Release Therapy. Thirty-five case summaries elucidate the use of release therapy. However, the author emphasises that there are no pat formulae in the techniques of release therapy. According to him the technique should be used with children not older than ten and with those suffering from something that happened in the past (e.g., a frightening experience). It cannot be used with children suffering from a difficult situation going on at the time of treatment (e.g., maternal rejection). The entire section is of special interest to the students of child psychology and child guidance.

The second part of the book deals with psychoneuroses and Psycho-somatic medicine. Though psychoneuroses (mild mental disorders) do not generally call for hospitalization, it is a common problem in everyday life. Also, with the increased recognition of the importance of psychological factors in bodily illness, psychosomatic medicine, is coming into prominence. An interesting article in this section is the one by Frauz Alexander on Psychologic Factors in Gastric Disturbances. The author interprets his findings with a psycho-analytical bias. According to him those suffering from gastric neurose or duodenal ulcers deny themselves their intense desire for acquisition, because these wishes are connected with extreme conflict in the form of guilt and a feeling of inferiority. Their typical conscious attitudes toward the environment can be expressed as follows : "I do not want to take or receive—I am active and efficient and have no such wishes." The attitude of the colitis type is : "I have the right to take and demand, for I always give sufficiently : I do not need to

feel inferior or guilty for my desire to give and take because I am giving something in exchange for it." In the constipation case the tyrannic background of the symptom may be verbalized as follows: "I do not take or receive; therefore I do not give."

Another interesting research reported in this section is the one by Wolf & Wolff. They studied the digestive function of a 56-year old man who had an occluded esophagus and had been feeding himself through a gastric fistula. They found that emotional conflict, involving anxiety, hostility and resentment, was accompanied by accelerated acid secretion, hyperemia and engorgement of the gastric mucosa. They concluded that in all probability "the chain of events which begins with anxiety and conflict and their associated over-activity of the stomach and ends with hemorrhage and perforation is that which is involved in the natural history of peptic ulcer in human beings."

The third section summarizes the recent psychiatric and psychological findings on Schizophrenic Psychoses. Schizophrenia (a mental disease in which the patient retreats from the world of reality into a phantasy life of his own) constitutes the greatest challenge to modern psychiatry; and many studies are carried on to meet the challenge. Hanfmann, for instance, reports a study of a case of Schizophrenia. The patient was subjected to an intensive study with a view to determine the structure of thinking disturbance. The patient was given a variety of language and performance tests. The results indicated that the central

disturbance was loss of the "categorical attitude" i.e., incapacity to perceive objects as members of a class or as other than concrete and unique.

The fourth section on Experimental Psychopathology includes studies on frustration, hypnosis and such other pertinent problems. One of the studies is by Hunt on infant feeding—frustration and adult hoarding. He experimented on a group of rats, feeding some at regular intervals (experimental group), while their litter mates (control group) were allowed unlimited food. Then after 5 months of unlimited food for both experimental and control groups the number of pellets hoarded by the animals in these groups were compared. The results showed that the "frustrated" or experimental group hoarded $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many pellets as the control group or satiated group. These and other findings of the experiment lead the author to conclude that infantile experience is an effective determinant of adult behaviour.

The book is of value not only as a contribution to one's knowledge of human behaviour, but also as a splendid example of the scientific attitude of mind. The reader is inevitably impressed with the careful planning and control of conditions that have gone into the various studies. The cautiousness of experimenters in drawing conclusions is also worthy of note. These are the attributes well worth imbibing. For without such intellectual and scientific honesty individual and social progress would be impossible.


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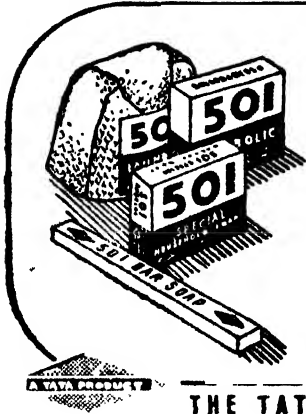
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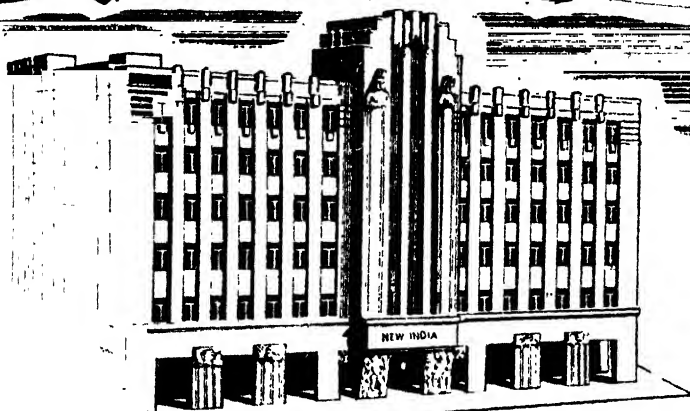
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REALITY AND FANTASY THINKING IN SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

W. S. TAYLOR

On the basis of his investigation, the author maintains that, "Our students—and by inference, the educated population of which they are a sample—are governed by fantasy to a dangerous degree in their thinking about social problems." In the following article he outlines his findings and sounds a note of warning that no effective planning or constructive action is possible unless education is so imparted as to counteract this tendency of fantasy thinking.

Dr. Taylor is Professor of Philosophy at the Indore Christian College.

The General Problem.—We start with two statements which seem so nearly self-evident, and which command such general agreement, that we may take them as axioms on which to base further discussion.

- (1) The data of social reconstruction are very complex and sometimes obscure, involving as they do very complex inter-relationships of economic, political, legal, sociological and psychological factors, and the very difficult problem of human motivation.
- (2) Effective plans for social reconstruction must be based on a clear understanding of these data.

It follows that the social worker, to be effective, must be objective and realistic in his thinking. He must be capable of seeing a social situation as it is, and not as he imagines, or wants, it to be. There are, of course, limits to the degree of objective realistic thinking that can be demanded, and we must not push too far the antithesis of objective reality thinking and subjective fantasy thinking. Every observation is the product of an interaction between objective and subjective factors. But we can and should require that a person's understanding of social problems should not be unduly distorted by the

presence of wish fantasies, by uncritical reliance on social or religious dogmas which can be shown to have little meaning for the social situation he is dealing with, by social attitudes reflecting class prejudice, or by ideas of merit and reward which bear no relation to the facts of social life as they face him. So far as possible he must be objective and factually accurate.

In other words, we might say that his observation and thinking must be governed by reality-preference rather than by fantasy-preference. Until we have a group of legislators and trained social workers whose thinking is governed by reality-preference rather than by fantasy-preference, we cannot expect to have effective social planning. And until we have an extensive public opinion similarly governed by reality preference rather than by fantasy preference, we cannot expect to have effective public support for good social planning.

So much seems to follow from the two statements with which we started. But the next question raises practical problems. Where can we get these social workers, and how can we build up this public opinion, both governed by reality-preference? The answer would seem to be, quite clearly, from our educated people. The great mass of uneducated people are recognized to be, of necessity, custom-bound and slow to change. But the function

of education should be to give people a greater measure of intellectual freedom, and with it a more progressive and more objective outlook. We should therefore expect to find the thinking of our uneducated people fantasy-dominated, and to find in the thinking of our educated people a strong development of reality-preferences.

The Investigation.—Do we find this? The answer is rather disconcerting. About two hundred and fifty college students were recently given a simple reality-fantasy-preference story test, such as has been used in other countries, but adapted to suit Indian conditions. Each student was given two incomplete stories, the second story being given about two months after the first. The student was first asked to complete the story in his own words, as he thought it would end. Then he was given two alternate endings, one of which followed necessarily from the data given in the first part of the story, the other of which was more pleasant, but did violence to the data given in the first part of the story; and he was asked (i) to state which ending he thought was truer, i.e. more like what would happen in real life, giving his reasons and (ii) to state which ending he liked better, again giving his reasons. The answer which the student himself wrote gave an indication of his spontaneous reality or fantasy preference in his own constructive thinking, and was marked on a five point scale from +2 for strong fantasy-preference to -2 for strong reality-preference. His choice between the two alternate given answers indicated how far his recognition of given facts was governed by reality or fantasy preferences, and how far he was able to separate his recognition of factual data from his own wish-preferences.

Spontaneous Reality-preference.—When the spontaneous story endings were scored on

the five point scale, and the average score determined for all the students on both stories,—i.e. the average of about 5 story endings,—it came to +.095. To understand this, we must remember that +2 stands for maximum fantasy thinking and -2.00 for maximum reality thinking and 0.00 for a balance of reality and fantasy thinking. The figure of +.095 therefore indicates that among these college students fantasy thinking is at least as strong as reality thinking, and perhaps a little stronger.

When the two stories are taken separately, however, the relative strength of the fantasy thinking is seen to vary greatly from one social situation to another. Perhaps it would be best to outline the two stories. Story (I) dealt with a village boy, Ram Prasad, who had completed his primary and middle school education, and was about to appear for his Matriculation Examination. He was not a clever student but by dint of hard and regular work had just passed in his examinations, never getting higher than a rather low III division standing. About a month before his Matriculation Examination, Ram Prasad's old father fell seriously ill of pneumonia, and night after night Ram Prasad had to sit up with him. His study was, necessarily, almost completely stopped, and when he went to write his paper he was so weary he almost fell asleep over his paper. From this point on the student had to complete the story. Obviously, with his previous academic record, Ram Prasad had practically no chance at all of passing his examination under these difficult conditions. Involved in the story was the traditional strong sentiment of duty to one's parents.

Story (II) dealt with a fisherman and his wife in a coast town in India. They were illiterate, old, without children, poverty-

stricken, quick-tempered and irritable, disappointed with life, living a hand-to-mouth existence from day to day and unable to plan for the morrow. One day they caught a fish with a golden wishing ring in its mouth, and were allowed three, but only three, wishes. The story turns on the use of these three wishes, and does not as clearly involve any strong moral or religious issues as did story (I), but depends on a psychological understanding of the characters of the fisherman and his wife.

When Story (I) is taken separately, the average score on the spontaneous endings is +.412. In this story, therefore, the moral and religious sentiments involved tend to distort the students' thinking towards a fantasy ending to a very decided degree. In Story (II), where such moral sentiments are not so clearly involved, the average score is—·253, showing that this story permits of a greater measure of reality thinking; though even here the swing to reality thinking is not as great as is the swing to fantasy thinking in the previous story.

So far, therefore, these results suggest that in social situations involving traditional moral or religious sentiments, college students are likely to show a rather strong tendency to fantasy thinking. The difficulty is that almost all social problems in India do, in one way or another, tend to involve such moral and religious sentiments.

Recognition of Reality Solutions.—The picture is better when one considers the selections made by the students from the two answers given to them. Taking both stories together, 66% of the students select the "reality" ending as being the truest—i.e. as being most like what occurs in real life—and reject the fantasy ending. Thus two students out of every three show reality preference in the recognition of a

solution presented to them, and only one out of every three shows fantasy preference.

When the stories are taken separately, differences again emerge. In Story (I), only 56%, or about half the students, show reality preference in their recognition of a suitable ending; while in Story (II), 76%, or three out of every four, show a reality preference in their choice.

When asked to state which of the given endings they like better, only 24%, or one out of four students, taking both stories together, prefer the reality ending, while 76%, or three out of four, prefer the fantasy ending. When the stories are taken separately, only 19%, or one out of five, prefer the reality ending for Story (I), four out of five preferring the fantasy ending; while for Story (II), 29% prefer the reality ending, and 71% the fantasy ending.

There is therefore again evidence, from this selection of given endings, that the students show very considerable fantasy preference, and that this tendency is greatly enhanced when there are moral or religious sentiments involved in the social situation.

Reality Preference Summary.—From these results three things seem to follow :—

- (1) Our students—and, by inference, the educated population of which they are a sample—are governed by fantasy to a dangerous degree in their thinking about social problems, the degree of fantasy thinking varying with the nature of the problem.
- (2) The students—and, by inference, the educated population of which they are a sample—show much greater fantasy preference in their spontaneous constructive thinking than they do when presented with alter-

native solutions requiring merely recognition of what is real. That is, there is a less likelihood of their being able to produce valid social programmes than there is of their being able to support such programmes produced by others, though, even here, the chances of getting intelligent support for a realistic social programme seem to be little better than 50%.

- (3) This is due largely to a lack of harmony between what the student desires and what he may admit is right. Even when he recognizes that one solution is right, he generally desires the other. When asked to state why they chose one solution rather than the other, only about 1% of the students stated that they preferred a solution because it was "true," or "fitted the facts" or "seemed real." They have not learned to think of truth to reality, correspondence with fact, as being in itself admirable, and even when bound to admit its presence, they tend to reject its claims in favour of irrelevant standards such as those of pleasantness or happiness. There is clear evidence of very considerable conflict in their minds between a reality they can recognize and admit when required to do so, and a fantasy which they prefer. This preference for fantasy over reality in their thinking is an alarming social symptom.

Reasons for Preferences:—But the bald

figures we have used so far may by themselves be misleading, and more information is needed. A man may select a reality ending but do so for a fantasy reason, and *vice versa*, or the reason may be quite irrelevant. We therefore need to know more qualitatively, about the reasons for the choices made.

The general picture can best be shown by giving the percentages of unsatisfactory reasons for choices. When the student chose the correct reality ending out of the two given to him, his reasons were considered satisfactory if they were based on the actual facts given in the story. They were considered unsatisfactory if they were based on other grounds. When he chose the fantasy ending his reasons were considered satisfactory if they clearly expressed the desire for pleasure or a happy ending, as this is a normal foundation for fantasy thinking or wish-fulfilment, and unsatisfactory if based on other grounds.

Taking the two stories together, 66 out of every hundred students correctly select the reality ending as being the truer, but of these, 64% give unsatisfactory reasons for their choice; 34 out of every hundred incorrectly select the fantasy ending as being truer, and of these 89% give unsatisfactory reasons for their choice. Of those who like the reality ending better, simply as a matter of personal preference, 51% give unsatisfactory reasons; and of those who like the fantasy ending better, 49% give unsatisfactory reasons.

Apart altogether, therefore, from the reality or fantasy preference shown in the choice of the ending itself, there is a rather alarming amount of fantasy preference in the reasons for which the choices are made. Its nature appears better when the two stories are taken separately.

Story I.—The unsatisfactory reasons may be classified in three chief groups:—

- (1) Some moral sentiment or religious belief not related to the factual data given in the story. The most common argument here was that Ram Prasad was a very virtuous boy because of the way he cared for his sick father, and he succeeded in the examination because virtue is always rewarded and God always cares for those who do right.

- (2) A generalized belief not directly related to the particular data

given in the story,—e.g. “because poverty defeats people,” “hard work brings success,” “slow and steady wins the race,” “perseverance wins.”

- (3) Irrelevant reasons,—e.g. “because India is a slave country,” “because education is spreading everywhere.”

The following table gives the percentages of choices made on these three unsatisfactory grounds* :—

	Moral reasons	Generalized reasons	Irrelevant reasons
{ Of those who chose the reality ending as truer ...	9%	20%	15%
{ Of those who chose the fantasy ending as truer ...	68%	26%	11%
{ Of those who liked the reality ending better...	32%	12%	15%
{ Of those who liked the fantasy ending better...	47%	7%	4%

Of these three factors, the moral, including specially the conviction that virtue is always rewarded, and the belief that God will care for those who do right, operates most strongly in distorting the students' thinking on social problems and giving it a strong bias to fantasy. This may be due to the continuing influence of the doctrine of Karma, when consideration of a future life has been largely eliminated from the students' minds, and the thought of inevitable rewards consequently confined to the immediate present. The frequency with which the other two reasons occur gives disconcerting evidence of the prevalence of vague, inaccurate and irrelevant thinking.

Story II.—The unsatisfactory reasons

may be classified in the same two groups, with the difference that the nature of the moral reason is altered. In this story it takes three chief forms, (i) honest work is good, (ii) bad temper deserves to be punished, (iii) it is a woman's moral duty to sacrifice herself for her husband.

In addition, one new class of unsatisfactory answers is added, indicating the persistence of class prejudice,—e.g. “they were a low class of people who have little intelligence,” “such ignorant people can't understand,” “this type of people have no wisdom.”

The following table gives the percentages with which the various types of unsatisfactory reasons occur for Story II:—

* The total across sometimes is more than 100, as some students give two reasons for their choice one reason falling in one group, the other in another group.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

J. J. PANAKAL

Annual holidays with pay for industrial workers is a measure of social justice which contributes to the fairer distribution of work and leisure. To give the lowest paid worker a good holiday to restore his health and educate him is an immense task. Maintaining that an industrialized world must make some provision for social relaxation, the author in the following article examines important problems regarding the ways and means by which the workers can derive the maximum benefit from their holidays.

Mr. Panakal (TISS '46) is the Assistant Secretary of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

During recent years there has been a marked movement towards the granting of annual holidays with pay either by legislation or by voluntary agreement. The general principle of holidays with pay is a sound one and the practice is spreading rapidly affecting a steadily increasing number of groups. "It is widely felt that with the increasing productivity it should no longer be necessary for the workers to drudge a ceaseless round, year after year, without intermission. The movement is based on the recognition of the needs of the worker as a human being and not merely as an instrument of production"*. In this mechanised age this tendency is indeed a sign of progress which will avert serious social problems.

Holidays are days of exemption from labour or work, and hence a period of rest and recreation. "In every civilisation the round of the daily work has been interrupted by periods of communal relaxation and repose†." Everybody has an urge to break away, and needs at least occasional relief from toil and harsh conditions of existence. Holidays therefore arise out of considerations of practical utility. An industrialised world must, however, afford opportunities for social intercourse, sports and amusements of all sorts by making

some compulsory provision for social relaxation.

The Need for Holidays.—The need for holidays arises out of two conditions : it partly arises from considerations of health and efficiency, and the alleviation of the evil effects of industrial fatigue ; and partly from considerations of a broad social character which are related to the development of the personality of the worker.

It is very easy to give a convincing case for holidays from the health point of view. If in a company there are no paid holidays, there will certainly be an increased economic loss from ill-health and lowered vitality, and this will be borne chiefly by the workers, although the firm will not escape the loss from inefficiency and lowered productivity. The undoubted value of holidays in maintaining and increasing efficiency was stressed by the Royal Commission on Labour in India. The Commission pointed out that few workers needed these holidays so much as those in Indian factories. Holidays, if adequate in length and based on proper rates of pay, reduce the burden of absenteeism due to sickness probably as much as any single preventive measure, thus influencing favourably attendance records. In fact, the great set-off against the cost of holidays with pay, is the decrease in sick leave and absenteeism.

* Report of the Director of the I. L. O. to the Twenty-fifth Session of the International Labour Conference.

† *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Volume IV, p. 412.

Since the health and well-being of workers are generally accepted as factors of industrial efficiency, the existence of nervous strain is a disturbing symptom. Industry in India is becoming more and more rationalised and mechanised with the result that employment becomes proportionately more exacting. The growth of monotonous repetitive work, and the constant need for re-adjustment to meet rapidly changing conditions in industry cause physical and mental exhaustion to workers. Hereafter the changes are likely to be more rapid and frequent. Holidays unquestionably provide a much needed break in a long period of muscular and mental strain, and give a welcome opportunity for rest, change and recuperation. Settled habits of work need to be broken in the interests of all concerned. Periodical escape from the grind and routine of daily toil has positive values, as testified by many firms which have experimented for a long time with schemes of holidays with pay.

Workers take up their tasks with greater efficiency and tend to sustain their productiveness for longer periods when there is an assurance of holidays with pay. A diminution of output as a result of fatigue is sometimes seen when the workers are in need of a lay-off. It is uneconomical to keep up the monotony of continuous work, unrelieved by any relaxation. The ordinary worker is not strong enough to work hard throughout the year without a break. If one is made to work continuously, his only method of recovering from the over-fatigue would be to slow down or knock off altogether. Because of the specially enervating climate of this country, the strain of continuous work tells heavily on the health of the worker.

On the recreative side a holiday has

much in its favour. There are few city dwellers who cannot gain something from contact with nature. "The holidays which many may be able to take are also a great source of strength of mind and body, and the combination of urban and rural life brings a width of outlook which is apt to be lacking in a purely urban population."*

Further, holidays with pay will be of great benefit to the wives of the workers—an aspect which deserves consideration. It is a well known fact that for every two or three men working in industry, there must be someone working in the household contributing to their efficiency. Such persons who look after domestic work should, as a measure of social justice, participate in the promotion of health and recreation made possible by holidays with pay. The object to be aimed at is that at the end of a holiday the parents shall feel rested and that the children shall be happy and healthy.

Holidays and Young Employees.—The youngest employees need holidays very badly. Young men who take up work in industrial concerns generally experience considerable mental and physical strain, especially during the first year of employment. They are always ready to enjoy a new and wider life and are not warped by experience. On the contrary, they are plastic and adaptable to circumstances and require a change of scenery, a change of occupation, congenial companionship and freedom from the imposed discipline of the factory and the machine. All young persons with health undermined by work in factories and offices should have more holidays to recuperate their energy and to ensure well-balanced physical development. "In Soviet Russia the minimum number of holidays granted is twelve, but this is extended to fourteen days or a month in the case of

* Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, p. 19.

workers under eighteen years of age.”* Planning and carrying out holiday programmes offer opportunities for the development of self-reliance and independence. As far as possible young people should be encouraged to travel comparatively far afield because of the difficulty the majority will have in doing so when they are married. Employers should give every kind of encouragement to their young employees in these matters.

Distinction between Salaried Employees and Wage-earners.—Absorbed in the development of industries and the intensive production of goods, most of our employers have so far shown a discouraging indifference to the needs of well-organized holidays with pay for their industrial wage-earners. Now, it is high time for making some organized attempts on a large scale to provide reasonable holidays away from home for those who want them. This proposal requires special attention not only because of the physical fatigue from which workers who have no chances of recuperation suffer but also because of the harmful psychological effects which ensue from the awareness that certain groups of men must labour while others enjoy.

It is a well-known fact that salaried employees and executives have so far fared better than manual wage workers. Annual holidays with pay for salaried employees have been the rule for a long time past, but it was not until recently that paid holidays for wage-earners were introduced in a few industries. The provision of holidays with pay is sure to have an important psychological effect on industry in removing the unfortunate distinction between workers engaged directly on production and comparatively well-placed employees.

“The distinction in treatment as between salaried and wage-earning employees is, no doubt, to be explained by the fact that salaried employees are remunerated by a monthly salary as against the hourly or weekly employment of wage earners, and the former are not generally paid for overtime. Salaried employees are usually few in number compared with the number of wage-earners ; holidays are usually taken in rotation and the work is done by others.”† But this distinction has no logical basis and is socially undesirable. The system of holidays with pay to all workers is bound to create a favourable situation from the standpoint of industrial relations generally.

Cost of Holidays with Pay.—Very often we come across statements regarding the heavy cost arising out of this system. Such statements, wherein attempts are made to show that the cost of paid holidays is a considerable percentage of the total annual wage bill, overlook many important points. They fail, for instance, to take into consideration the fact that a proportion of wage earners already have paid holidays, and that items such as overtime pay, special bonuses, and the wages of those not qualifying for paid holidays are included in the total wages bill.

Why Holidays with Pay ?—The holidays should be with pay, because when they are taken without pay, their beneficial effects tend to be lost, especially among the low paid workers, owing to the resultant financial worry. The valuable effects which they could bring can be had only when they are granted with pay. The absence of payment prevents those who have days off from using them in such a way as to add in a considerable measure to their happiness, health and efficiency. As many of them are obliged to contribute

* Mukherjee, Radhakamal, *The Indian Working Class* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1945), p. 52.

† Fenelon, K. G., *Management and Labour* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 204.

to the up-keep of the home, the pay should be adequate to make the holiday a benefit rather than a burden. Without pay they are more often an added strain than a means of relaxation.

The increase in industrial productivity is likely to be large enough to absorb the cost without difficulty in a short time. In relation to the total expenses of the industry the percentage of the cost of providing holidays with pay is relatively small. The general effect of the adoption of the scheme would be to increase purchasing power, and consequently consumption, thus aiding business development.

Holidays with pay is a measure of social justice which contributes to the fairer distribution of employment and leisure. Universal holidays will result in the employment of additional work people and diminish the number of the unemployed. Such a system may work as a substitute for unemployment in a new order of society, ensuring continuity of employment for all.

Planned Holidays.—There is no need to lay greater stress on the benefits—social as well as individual—which would result from securing adequate holidays at least once a year for industrial workers and their families. Now that the principle is more widely accepted and the practice is also slowly developing, it is important that the question of organization should receive attention so as to provide an opportunity for workers to escape from the industrial centres where so many of them are imprisoned. How are the workers and their families going to make use of their vacation?

While the new legislative measure covers a great majority of workers, it has raised without notice a vast problem of education and organization with regard to the manner in which and the means by which the workers should take their holi-

days—a problem which has not been studied systematically. It would clearly be a mistake to suppose that the problem of workers' holidays has been solved simply because the great majority of the workers receives an appreciable number of days' leave with pay every year. On the other hand, it raises the problem of how a large number of workers with low incomes could use their holidays in such a way as to strengthen their bodies and improve their minds.

Existing holiday facilities were introduced chiefly to meet the need of those sections of the population whose means are more substantial. The question must therefore be considered whether such facilities are now sufficient and whether they satisfy the special needs of the new type of holiday maker. In order to meet these new needs, experiments and innovations have to be made. The problem is one of adjustment which will make it possible to give the lowest-paid worker a good holiday that will restore his health and educate him. The task is immense. It is important not to underestimate the obstacles. To begin with, the workers must be encouraged to travel for pleasure, their belief, that travelling would involve them in many risks and all kinds of trouble, must be dispelled. Further, measures will have to be taken to overcome the open hostility of many among the upper classes who dislike the invasion of holiday resorts by the working class who, they believe, will destroy their charm.

Importance of Combined Action.—There can be no doubt that combined action is required on behalf of the large groups which may become entitled to a vacation. To work out the general principles which should govern the combined action and to indicate the methods it should adopt for

the solution of the problems connected with a wise use of holidays, is therefore an important task.

It is encouraging to note that organizations of workers' and employers,' sports associations, etc., are taking steps to establish and promote various kinds of services to facilitate the proper use of holidays by the workers. These steps, many of which are to meet the needs of limited groups, by no means always take account of experience obtained from similar action elsewhere and the lack of co-ordination also leads to much useless duplication and sometimes even to partial or complete failure.

Therefore, it is advisable to provide for co-ordination between the various bodies. Combined action should aim at putting into operation active steps to adapt existing facilities for travel and holidays to the special needs created by the new developments. It should also make known to workers and their families, the information, guidance and the services which are available for the best use of their vacation. The establishment of rationally organized holiday facilities would enable many to find recuperation under attractive conditions. While providing guidance, such combined action should, however, leave each person free to use his holiday in conformity with his own preferences, tastes and aspirations, and according to his own particular position.

Committee of Workers' Holidays.—Co-ordination might be effected by the establishment of special bodies, for instance, committees. It is very desirable to have a committee which will provide a common meeting ground for all the interests involved in the provision of holidays suitable for workers. The committee should be a homogeneous organization for dealing with the multifarious general, local and special issues raised by the grant of holidays.

A national committee of workers' holidays should be set up consisting of technical experts and representatives of all the authorities and interests concerned, for example, employers', workers', cultural, women's, youth and travel organizations, and of all the administrative departments concerned, to work as a central co-ordinating authority. The committee should appoint various sub-committees to make a very wide survey of the many problems arising out of the grant of paid holidays in industry; to study the distribution in time and spacing out of holidays; workers' savings for holidays; transport; hotel accommodation, holiday homes; youth hostels; camping and the cultural aspects of workers' holidays. Its functions must include investigation, information, the collection of documentary detail, practical co-ordination, the encouragement of public and private schemes, and technical development and supervision, with the object of providing the beneficiaries with healthy holidays making for recreation and education. They must try to create an active interest among the employers in the holiday plans of the employees and should be in a position to give authoritative information on their likes and dislikes. The committee could be of considerable assistance to the Government Department concerned as an advisory body. The material available in the committee's files will be of great value in their investigations.

In agreement with competent public departments, the committee should take steps to institute or equip holiday centres and homes, youth hostels or camping areas; and to provide accommodation having due regard to the means and number of the persons entitled to holidays under the Act. It must initiate or encourage schemes and co-ordinate the proposed or existing activities of private agencies, trade unions,

athletic associations, hotels, cultural or any other organization interested in workers' holidays; propose any administrative measures required for the purpose of organizing workers' holidays, and carry on propaganda, by all suitable means, in their favour.

Certain principles can be laid down which should govern a satisfactory scheme for holidays with pay. Although interference with the leisure time of the employees is deprecated, today there is an immediate need for co-operation in organizing a better distribution of holidays, and to prevent their being taken together, control is absolutely necessary.

Rotation of Holidays.—The problem of the rotation of holidays with pay is a fundamental one, both from the point of view of the industry and of disorganization of the transport and accommodation services. With a view to causing the minimum dislocation of production, holidays should either take place in rotation in individual establishments, or those establishments which have to close down, should do so in rotation. Staggering is of first importance if we are to ensure enjoyable vacations for all. If the demand for holidays away from home is to be met at all, staggering must be general and systematically planned over a long period. Staggering for different places appears to be a most necessary reform for avoiding congestion. All should not take their holidays at the same time, but they should be spread as far as possible. Managements can provide such leave periods for workers without closing plants or even curtailing operations, if the periods are systematically staggered over a long period. No truly rational organization of workers' holidays will be possible until this has been solved.

Some companies may prefer to suspend operations and give all vacations at one

time; during such periods there is opportunity for thorough house-cleaning and annual inventory. Their departments may be so very interdependent that it is impossible to escape serious loss of production during holiday periods, even though the factory remains open. Such firms who close their work, do so at a time when they think the majority of their employees want to go away.

Industries which cannot close down entirely, will have to continue to stagger holidays internally. Such arrangement inevitably throws extra work on those remaining and this fact must be allowed for, when planning for staff requirements. Business concerns whose output is dependent on other firms could make mutually satisfactory arrangements. On the other hand, some industries and firms will have to contract out of the local scheme, where their individual circumstances make it impracticable to follow it. To avoid a simultaneous closing down of firms in the same branch of activity in the same locality or region, a system of rotation must be organized among the firms concerned. There is much need for research and planning on this aspect of the problem.

A serious objection against a general system of rotating holidays is that of the period of school vacations. The decisive factor is the legitimate desire of workers with family responsibilities who always like to take their holidays during the school vacation period when the children are free to accompany them. This is an impediment to steps for better organization of the holiday arrangement, and so local education authorities should be urged to fix the school vacation so as to fit in with the industrial holidays in that area. The policy should be to set apart holidays for workers with children during the school vacation period; young workers,

married men without children, and parents whose children have not yet reached or have already passed the school going age, should take their holidays outside the vacation period. Material advantages, such as lower railway fares, should be offered to those who take their holidays during the slack season, and there should be a publicity campaign for the purpose. A further provision allowing school children to absent themselves for a short period not exceeding a fortnight in any one school year for the purpose of accompanying their parents may be introduced.

The work of the Standing Committee for England and Wales, appointed by the Minister of Labour in January 1946 to promote the staggering of holidays, is bearing good fruit. Here are some examples of what industry is doing in this respect in various parts of the country:

"An estimate based on information relating to nearly 480 manufacturing firms in the London and South-Eastern area suggests that the holidays of about 40 per cent of the employees concerned will be staggered throughout summer. Of the fourteen largest firms in the Reading district, five are spreading their holidays over the season. Two closed during June, and seven are having holiday weeks between 20th July and 10th August. In the Eastern counties several towns have chosen holiday weeks by ballot; in one town some two-thirds of the workers are staggering their holidays, and it is estimated that 70 per cent in the Colchester and 80 per cent in the Romford district are doing the same. In the South, the majority of the firms in six towns, the dockyards and seven other large concerns in Portsmouth, and about half the workers at Southampton have adopted staggering. Building trade workers in three large Midland centres

took their holidays in June, and information from firms in the Scunthorpe district, employing a total of 12,300 workers, indicates that only 700 of them will be on holiday during either of the first two weeks in August. The ship-building and engineering industries on Tyneside are spreading their holidays over the six weeks beginning 23rd June, and the building and civil engineering industries in Newcastle took the last week in June. The local education authorities are helping to make the drive for staggered holidays a success by granting not more than two weeks' leave of absence to school children whose parents are taking their holidays during the school term." *

Splitting up of Holidays with Pay.—Another important point is that as far as possible the annual holiday should not be split up. Dividing it up should be authorised only in quite exceptional circumstances, i.e., only when it can really be shown that the grant of continuous holidays would seriously interfere with the working of the firm even if the holiday season were prolonged, and the technical necessities of the manufacturing processes so require, or in the event of the staff insisting on its being taken in parts for definite reasons.

Holidays Proportionate to the Length of Service.—The principle of holidays proportionate to the length of service is already introduced in some countries. The paid holiday is determined by length of service and in some firms the payments are reduced if the workers' attendance or time-keeping has been unsatisfactory. This system may cause dissatisfaction; there are other and more satisfactory methods of promoting punctuality and regularity. The length of the holiday should not vary with length of service. The right basis of variation is the value of the service rendered, or the

* "Holidays", *Journal of the Institute of Personnel Management*, XXVIII: 81 (June-July-August, 1946).

strain it involves, and not the number of years of service put in.

Paid Employment during Holidays.—Is it permissible to allow a worker to take other paid employment during the holiday period? This point assumes practical importance more particularly with regard to certain agricultural occupations which, in a way, is advantageous to the industrial worker from the city, in that he receives a healthy holiday with reasonable exercise and an addition to his income. The prohibition of paid employment should be restricted to employment in the trade in which the person normally earns his living, on the ground that a change of occupation is often a form of relaxation. A provision of this type is necessary in order to protect the general interest of the work people, and ensure that the holiday is actually taken and utilised in the best way possible. Too hard and fast adherence to a principle of this kind, is not quite in keeping with the modern desire that the individual should be as flexible as possible in his accomplishments and outlook.

In this connection it may be mentioned that provisions concerning compulsory holidays should be prevented from deteriorating into a means of merely raising wages. Payment in lieu of holiday defeats the object to provide a break for recuperative purposes for employees in continuous service. As far as possible it should be a period of leisure and not an indirect way of making more money. To ensure that the employee entitled to holiday makes actual use of it, the employer must take pains to see whether the employee engages in work while he should be resting, and must expressly forbid him to waive his right to a holiday.

Holiday Savings.—It is of major importance that money should be available to the employees at the time of the holiday

period, so that they can plan delightful and ambitious holidays. Much disappointment is sure to ensue, if, for lack of finance, they failed to gain in health and happiness. Holiday savings, in which direction very little has been done in our country, has an important contribution to make here.

A worker cannot as a rule meet the additional expense of travelling or holiday residence out of the money he receives during the holiday period. If the worker and his family are to go away, they will need money in excess of the normal income. Rent and other constant expenses at home have first to be provided for, then there are fares, the cost of food and lodgings away from home, and the extras for recreation and amusements, and so special attention must be drawn to schemes for saving for holiday purposes. It would obviously be advisable to encourage soundly organized savings which is safer and bears interest. In occupations, where the workers are not ordinarily employed continuously by the same employer, attempts at savings on the part of workers will be of great benefit.

To encourage holiday savings without reference to whether adequate holiday facilities are available is to attack only half the problem. If the poor worker makes efforts to provide for his holiday, it is the community's responsibility to see that these are not frustrated or exploited through scarcity of facilities within his means.

Supply of Information on Holiday Facilities.—None of the measures that have been described would lead to anything unless they are supported by intensive propaganda. Publicity has to play a great part in this connection.

The beneficiaries of holidays with pay should be supplied with information that

is adapted to their means, so as to enable them to make the best use of their holidays. Such information may be supplied by organizations of various kinds, like workers' education associations, workers' sports associations, and labour welfare departments. It would be useful if methods of publicity are so organized as to make the information easily accessible to workers. The facilities for publicity afforded in the place of work, for example factory notice boards, should be utilised. The beneficiaries should be directly approached also by means of lectures, cinema displays, broadcast talks, etc., organized in industrial centres. In countries where this has been done, experience has shown that employees take great interest in the information provided, discuss among themselves the merits and demerits of different kinds of holiday, and try out often new ventures in consequence.

Even if workers have the information necessary for a free choice among the different ways of passing their leave period, they may be led by lack of experience to leave certain circumstances out of account. Guidance therefore should be supplied by competent persons to enable the workers to profit to the greatest possible extent by their period of rest.

For reasons of economy workers often hesitate to leave their homes for several days. The advice referred to above should take account of this tendency. It is desirable that workers inhabiting big industrial cities should be urged to choose a place in the country, preferably one of the less frequented resorts. Housing conditions in industrial areas are extremely unsatisfactory owing to excessive overcrowding, want of sanitation and hygiene and proper water supply. If a worker, therefore, gets a chance of spending a few

days in the country in the course of the year he is bound to be greatly benefitted.

Transport Facilities.—Now that the main issues have been discussed, the actual techniques may be considered. The first problem that arises is, of course, that of transport. This is a costly item in the worker's budget which stands in the way of organizing at reduced prices holiday trips. Workers always look for economical means of making such trips, as they cannot afford to spend much. They form a new and additional type of customer for transport concerns, and they need to be assured that they and their families will be transported for as low a fare as possible. Transport undertakings should be recommended to develop the practice of granting special low rates for individual, group and family travel to workers on holiday, so that they may be encouraged to use the services offered. Special efforts should be made by all commercial services, which cater more especially to comparatively well-to-do customers, to adapt themselves to the particular need and the limited resources of their new customers. Care should also be taken to eliminate the consequences of rush of traffic which are deplorable as the overwhelming pressure on transport entails discomfort to travellers.

Holiday Centres.—It is likely that a section of the public has learned in recent years to appreciate the quite distinct charms of the country. A substantial advance in the direction of fostering and encouraging this desirable state can be made by providing holiday centres for a thorough enjoyment of open-air life. Holiday centres should be suitably equipped and admirably placed. Such centres as a rule should provide for the following : a maximum amount of open-air recreation ; cost the worker very little ; eliminate

very long journeys, simplify to the utmost the catering question, provide companionship and develop enjoyment in group life. Workers on holidays should be able to use their long hours of leisure in developing their physical, intellectual and other capacities through activities of their choice. Open-air life alone will not do. People who visit the centres can enjoy the invigorating effect of open air life more if it can be had in the company of cheerful friends and with plenty of easily accessible entertainment. Urban workers who leave the cities for their well-earned rest must be provided with not only the recreation to which they are accustomed but also other forms of healthy recreation.

It is desirable to supply them with properly equipped indoor and outdoor recreation facilities, including sports grounds, fields for games and other arrangements for open-air sport, swimming pools, gymnasiums, etc. In addition, educational and recreational arrangements should be extended for amateur or professional theatricals, concerts, singing, motion pictures, libraries, lectures, or for other informal educational activities related to the various interests of these groups. Such centres should remain in charge of trained men. It is good to provide in holiday centres for games leaders, trainers and recreation organisers, persons who might be selected from among qualified social workers, capable of giving good leadership.

In the Soviet Union all able-bodied citizens are guaranteed the right to work. The Soviet Government sees to it that the worker enjoys proper conditions of rest and leisure, so that he may recuperate his health and strength for the further performance of Socially-useful labour. "While ensuring every citizen of the country the right to rest

and leisure by the institution of annual holidays with pay and the introduction of the seven-hour day, the Soviet Government has also created all the necessary conditions enabling the working people of the Soviet Union to make the best of this right. All the health resorts and sanatoria in the Soviet Union are the property of the State. Palaces, villas and mansions have now been converted into sanatoria and rest homes for the working people. In addition to these, the Soviet Government has built a large number of new fine health resorts, sanatoria and rest homes."*

Although it will need many years of strenuous endeavour to make holidays a habitual feature of the life of our workers, means can be made available for taking immediate action on a wide scale so that no section of the working class will remain untouched. A genuine interest in the welfare of the worker, flexible methods and a spirit of co-operation are the principles underlying the measures to be taken. Holidays with pay should be regarded as a social matter affecting the welfare of the nation as a whole.

Some employers show a general and wise reluctance to do anything which might be interpreted as interference with employees' free time, but, for the next few years, which are likely to be a transitory period towards general enjoyment of holidays by industrial workers, there may be an actual need for help from socially-minded employers. As the time is opportune to encourage employees to make the best use of their holidays with pay, it should not be impossible to secure the active support of our employers, in this matter which is of vital importance to the health of our industrial workers.

* U. S. S. R. *Speaks for itself* (Calcutta: National Book Agency Ltd., 1945), P. 303.

LABOUR UNREST IN TEA PLANTATIONS

By SUDHENDU NARAYAN MUKHOPADHYAY

Surveying the history of labour unrest in the tea plantations in India from 1920 to 1940, the author comes to the conclusion that labourers on these plantations should be allowed to organize themselves and helped to put forward their legitimate grievances and demands through trade union organizations without intimidation and discrimination.

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Though more pronounced in factories, mines and transports, industrial disputes are not uncommon in the tea plantations, in spite of the well-intentioned efforts of the authorities to remove their causes. Strikes and disturbances, rioting and large-scale exodus of the coolies, though ephemeral in their character, have in the aggregate caused appreciable dislocation of the industry and considerable loss to the employers as well as the employees. Very little is known about the industrial disputes in plantations in the early years of the industry except that frictions in the form of assaults and riots numbered as high as 106 in 1891.* Between 1930 and 1940 there were as many as 96 strikes involving 36,500 coolies, in the gardens of Assam. Widespread strikes throughout the tea estates have been and will be a public calamity, affecting tea consumers throughout the world.

Strong Association of Employers.—Employers have from the very beginning formed themselves into strong associations for preserving their own business interests. On the questions of recruitment of labour, conditions of employment, wage rates and terms of contract, they follow a common policy. The Indian Tea Association founded in 1881 and the United Planters' Association founded in 1893, are the two premier organizations of employers. The Indian Tea Association has 90% of the planters as its members and determines the business and labour policy on their behalf. Com-

pared with the employers, the labourers are incoherent and unorganized, illiterate, dumb, driven masses. The solidarity of the employers stands in marked contrast to the lack of cohesion among the labourers in the tea estates. Labour unrest, therefore, manifests itself not in any concerted efforts for amelioration and collective bargaining among the labourers, but in sporadic eruptions of long-felt grievance and malice. The sudden outburst and the short-lived riotous nature of all such disturbances point to the fact that labour is extremely weak to organise any sustained strife against the most powerful organizations of the employers. Signs of combination among the plantation labourers were noticeable as early as 1884, but it was only after 1926 that the strike as a weapon to enforce demands, reasonable or otherwise, was more readily employed.

The First Phase.—We may study the causes of labour disputes in three phases, the first phase being between 1920 and 1922, the second being between 1924 and 1933 and the third being between 1938 and 1940. An unfortunate combination of causes in the first phase led to widespread unrest (there were about 20 major cases of disturbances during 1920-21), which culminated in rioting on several gardens and in exodus of labourers from gardens in the Karimganj sub-division of the Sylhet district. There was a rise of as much as 39.95 per cent in

*Assam Labour Report 1891, p. 6

the cost of living index in 1922 as compared to that of 1914, while the earnings of the workers rose only by 19·2 per cent. The inflexibility of wage rates was largely responsible for the exodus of coolies throughout the valley. The famous Chargola Exodus will be remembered by every planter in the valley. Coolies left the *gardeh* in masses and a large number of them assembled at Chandpur. The employers in their attempt to force them to return to work resorted to open firing. The situation thus took a grim turn and was brought under control by the intervention of public men like the late Deshapriya J. M. Sen Gupta and of the Government.

Political agitation also contributed to the unrest. On the 1st and 2nd of May 1921 non-co-operation meetings were held at Ratabari in the Chargola Valley, which were attended by large numbers of coolies from neighbouring gardens. The tea garden managers were compared to Satans and an emotional appeal was made to the coolies to non-cooperate with the English who had seized India by foul means and were exploiting it for their own benefit. The next day about 750 labourers and dependents left Anipur on their way to Karimganj. On 15th May, 335 labourers of another estate left. This was followed by a general exodus during which the total number of coolies who left was 8,799 out of a total of 20,250 living in the gardens on 1st May, 1921.

Other causes, too, contributed. Over 42% of the deserters were coolies of recent importation, only of 4 years standing in the garden. Coolies recruited from newly opened areas, e.g. Madras and Bombay Presidency, found the climate of Assam extremely unsuitable. In the valley during 1918-19 recruitment had been unusually high and the coolies mostly belonged

to the famine-stricken areas of Bihar, Ranchi and East U.P. These feeble-bodied coolies fell easy victims to the influenza epidemic then raging in the gardens. Those who survived were rendered incapable of doing a fair day's work or earning a living wage. There were oppressions of low-caste coolies by Sardars of superior castes, and the garden staff were often cruel and unsympathetic in their treatment.

The root cause, however, of almost all strikes was economic. A reduction of 23 per cent, 37 per cent, and 33 per cent took place in the earnings of men, women and children respectively. The total reduction in the family income was 31 per cent. The Assam Labour Enquiry Committee further pointed out that owing to the curtailment of expenditure due to the depression in the tea industry, the *ticca* work was almost stopped. The following table illustrates this fall in *ticca* earnings* :—

	September 1919	September 1920
Men	Rs. 9 11 0	Rs. 7 11 6
Women	Rs. 11 4 10	Rs. 7 0 9
Children	Rs. 6 3 1	Rs. 4 3 4

The situation was aggravated by the extremely high prices of clothings. The supply of clothes by the authorities was insufficient and the price of concession paddy was gradually increased from Rs. 2-4-0 in 1919 to Rs. 3-6-0 in July 1920. The coolies had, *pari passu* with their decreased earnings, to pay more to the garden for the so-called concession paddy. It was not paid for in cash but debited against the coolies' individual accounts and carried on from month to month. A sum of Rs. 28,300 was outstanding against the coolies for paddy advances on the working labour force of 2,857.† Most of the employers,

* Report of the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee 1921-22, p. 8.

† Abid.

uncertain of the real causes of strikes, were inclined to lay the blame on political agitators. The Assam Labour Enquiry Committee, 1921-22, however, desired to dissociate themselves from this view. In their concluding remarks regarding strikes, they held that "the unrest was due to a combination of economic and political conditions, and that undoubtedly the existence of economic grievances rendered coolies more ready to listen to the exhortation and incitement of non-co-operators and other agitators."*

The Second Phase.—The calm which ensued after the events of 1921-22 and the effect produced by it passed away, and by the year 1924 the tea industry again faced a period of difficulty and unrest. There were 8 cases of disturbances in 1924, seven of them being cases of rioting and assaults and only one being peaceful stoppage of work. A demand for increment in the wage rates was made in 4 gardens and the coolies therein created trouble, but the employers succeeded in persuading them to resume work with the aid of the armed police force, arrests and convictions, without making any increment in the wage rates. During 1925 and 1926, too, there were several disturbances. The coolies of 2 estates complained of hardships, stating that the concession rice was sold at abnormally high prices, at 6 seers per rupee. About 60 coolies refused to work, but on the subsequent day they resumed work.

The year 1927 was markedly notorious. As a matter of fact strikes in the proper sense i.e. stoppage of work as a means to coerce employers to grant better terms, began from this date, though rioting continued to be the main feature of the

disturbances. Henceforward the coolies exhibited both the consciousness of class interest and the power of concerted action. They demanded higher wages and showed resentment against the personal insults meted out to them by planters. 29 cases of disputes occurred, in 25 of which the coolies struck work and in the remaining 4 of which they resorted to rioting. The number of coolies involved was 2,547. The coolies of 4 gardens assaulted the managers and "chowkidars" and damaged garden property. For the first time the strike in 4 cases continued for as long as 7 days, while in the rest of the cases the trouble terminated in a day or two. The strikes were not limited to one particular garden or area, but were widespread—as many as 18 cases in Lakhimpur district, 2 cases of rioting and 3 cases of strikes in the district of Derrang and many more in the estates in Jorhat and Dibrugarh. In September 1928, some coolies of Govinda Koopa, out-garden of Craigpark Tea Estate, went on strike because of inadequate wages. A party of 65 Bombay coolies, including women and children, left the garden and refused to return to it when they were interviewed by the Superintendent of Police.

From 1923 to 1927 prices of tea were good. In 1928 a decline set in and in 1929 prices decreased still more. Profits steadily lessened and in a number of cases disappeared. Endeavours to cope with the depression by curtailment of output, retrenchment of labourers and reduction of wage rates caused fresh outbreaks of strife from 1929 onwards. A classification of disputes according to the principal demands of workers, the number of coolies involved and the duration of strikes, is given below† :—

* Report of the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee 1921-22, p. 9.

† Compiled from the Report on Immigrant Labour published by the Commissioner of Assam,

Number of disputes bet. 1929-33	Rioting	Strikes	Number of strikes re. wages	Number of disputes re. ill-treatment	Other causes	Number of days lost
107	46	72	56	39	5	179

As will be seen from the above, this period was characterised by an appreciable diminution in the number of incidents of rioting and assault and a greater frequency of occasions where coolies struck work to induce their employers to concede their demands. In a number of cases an attempt on the part of the authorities to increase the hazira task or to decrease the hazira rates was strongly resented by the workers. During 1930-33 there were about 10 strikes because of excessive work, involving 5,168

labourers and the whole of the labour force of 2 other gardens. The demand for higher wages was the sole and primary cause of dispute in a vast majority of cases. Out of 56 disputes that related to wages, in more than 47 the extremely low wage rates formed the main grievance of the workers.

The table below reveals that no less than 1,16,000 workers were involved in the disturbances during 1929-33 :—

Year	No. of Coolies involved.	Total No. (Approx.)
1929	3,544 and nearly all the coolies of five gardens ...	11,000
1930	1,624 and nearly all the coolies in eleven gardens ...	19,000
1931	4,160 and nearly all the coolies in two gardens and batches in eight gardens ...	8,000
1932	2,398 and nearly all the coolies of 12 gardens and batches in two gardens ...	21,000
1933	1,183 and nearly all the coolies of three gardens ...	57,000
	Total...	1,16,000

Misconduct on the part of managers was responsible for 37 disputes. On the gardens on which the most serious disturbances took place, complaints against the garden "babus" were very bitter and insistent, and there was evidence that money had been extorted by them from the coolies under various pretexts. Delay in payment and withholding of wages by managers for keeping a hold on the workers also caused disturbances. Among other economic causes were fines for bad work, enforced work on Sundays and inadequate leave whenever there was a shortage of labour supply. Moreover, the managers were handicapped in their relations with their Directors or Managing Agents. They were ordered at times to increase their output or to extend their cultivation or to reduce expenditure, and in their zeal to prove themselves worthy of their charge, they completely disregarded the coolies, standpoint and exacted from them an increasing amount of work.

The molestation of young girls is the most common phenomenon met with in the plantations. Licentiousness on the part of the managers and their assistants, often resulting in rape and outrage, create grave resentment among the coolies. The coping stone was the Bhubrigar incident on 16th May, 1929 in Karimganj sub-division, when Mr. Lamb, having failed in his repeated attempts to outrage the modesty of a married woman, struck her, in perverted playfulness, with a pellet from a 12 boregun, when she came to draw water from a well. After her removal to hospital, the woman succumbed to her wound. No action was taken against the manager and the coolies went on strike for 2 days. This is not a solitary incident; it only indicates a persisting occurrence.

Thus we notice in this second phase the development of class interest and organiza-

tion. The little amount of organization the labourer exhibited during the recent disturbances of 1938 and 1939 was virtually a product of the revolutionary years of 1930 and 1931. Ever since 1930, in spite of being harassed by the police as well as the employers, the "Mazdursabha" organization and from time to time *ad hoc* strike committees, carried on a heroic underground existence. With the capture of power by the Indian National Congress in 1937, a rapid development of labour organization took place. In a few months, membership grew from a few tens to thousands. In Sylhet and Silchar alone the membership rose to about 7,000, when with Comrade Barin Datta as the general secretary, the workers formed the "Sylhet-Cachar Cha-Bagan Mazdoor Union." These developments enabled the labourers to present a staunch opposition to the employers during 1938-1939.

The Third Phase.—In 1938 there were 3 strikes in Darrang and 3 in Sylhet. There were an unusually large number of strikes in 1939 (the number having risen to 17) and a general feeling of discontent was manifest throughout the province. In 1940 there were 7 strikes in Assam. The coolies were experiencing great difficulties in earning a sufficient amount to feed themselves. The task for the hazira was extremely heavy. The weeding of 40 "nals" was paid for at the rate of 4 annas. The task for leaf-plucking was between 12 and 14 seers for 3 as. 6 ps. Ticca leaves were paid at 1 pice per seer. Maternity allowances were too meagre, bonuses were discontinued. The rent of land for private cultivation came to be as high as Rs. 2-8-0 per bigha. The working hours were also unusually long, 10 to 12 hours a day. Un-employment which is the direct outcome of longer hours of work laid its icy hands on the coolies : full time employment could not

be provided to a majority of the workers. That the earnings of the workers stood at an extremely low level can easily be seen from the following table :—

	<i>Earnings per month.</i>		
	Rs.	as.	ps.
• Men	...	6	0 0
Women	...	5	0 0
Children	...	3	0 0

The callous attitude adopted by the employers compelled the coolies to take the law into their own hands. The public attitude against contract labour, bad conditions and unjust treatment on plantations, as expressed through the press and the platform, paved the way to unrest and gave shape to the growing class consciousness amongst the labourers themselves. The "Mazdoor Union" in Cachar organized a big labour rally on 1st May, 1939 and some of the prominent Congress leaders addressed the gathering. The general Committee of the Indian Tea Association, on the other hand, decided that in the event of strikes occurring, the factories and gardens would remain closed and the management would not discuss any question of concession or alteration in wages or tasks until the labourers returned to work. But the effort to starve the labourers to submission was foiled through the grim and resolute determination of Congress and Labour Union Workers who helped them by instilling into them the spirit of non-violence and also by providing them for days with morsels of food.

In Cachar, in Urranaband Tea Estate, the dispute assumed serious proportions consequent upon a mishandling of the strike situation. The coolies struck work on the 10th of April. Prior to the strike a pamphlet was distributed amongst the labourers. The demands in it were :—8 As.

hazira per day for men and women, two days leave with full pay, sick hazira and increased maternity benefit. On the 11th April the coolies stopped a lorry near the new hospital and damaged it. On the 12th the same procedure of general stoppage took place. They threatened the "babus" (garden clerks) and the "babus" left the garden on the 12th night. Six of the coolies were turned out by the District Commissioner. Mr. Lagden sent a circular to Mr. A. P. Thomas, the then Manager of the gardens, which to all intents and purposes amounted to saying that the labour organization must by any means be nipped in the bud. If it were necessary to do so, a few of the estates should be destroyed. The cost of the damage had to be paid for. The labour unrest had to be smashed once for all. Mr. Lagden advised the authorities of Unranaband Tea Estate to be ready to wind up the whole business rather than yield to the labour demand. In pursuance of this policy the factories were closed down and all garden work was stopped. All attempts on the part of the labourers to come to an amicable settlement were turned down and the labourers had to face abject poverty and starvation. They, however, continued till the 17th April and in the meantime the Government intervened and set up an inquiry committee and on the assurance of a proper enquiry to be made, the coolies returned to work.

Enquiry Committee of 1939 and the Indian Tea Association.—From the very commencement of labour difficulties, vigorous representations have been made by the labour organizers and the General Committee of the Indian Tea Association to the Government of Assam. The peace of the Province and the prosperity of the tea industry were threatened by the chronic

labour trouble. The attention of the ministry was therefore drawn to the urgency of action being taken to maintain law and order. The representations were followed by personal contacts between the Chairman of the Association and the Ministers of the Government of Assam, and as a result of this, a Committee of Enquiry with the following personnel was instituted :—

1. Mr. S. K. Ghosh, I.C.S., Controller of Emigrant Labour.
2. Mr. F. H. Hockenhall, M.L.A., Member on behalf of Indian Tea Association.
3. Mr. B. N. Mukherjee, M.L.A., Member on behalf of the employers of Estates in Indian ownership.
4. Mr. A. K. Chanda, M.L.A.
5. Mr. Debeswar Sharma, M.L.A.

The terms of reference of the Committee were :—

- (1) To determine what is the root cause of recent strikes and other manifestations of discontent on the gardens in Assam ; and particularly whether there are economic grievances either generally in the districts concerned or in the affected estates.
- (2) What measures are required in order to remove the root cause or causes of the said strikes.
- (3) Whether, and if so, what form of organization is desirable for enabling labourers on tea gardens to communicate their grievances to the management in such an effective manner as

will remove any doubt that their interests are secure, and to produce settlement of such grievances, if any, by negotiations.

It was agreed upon that during the period of the enquiry and pending submission and consideration of the committee's report, no action would be taken by either the employers or the labourers or other persons interested in the welfare of labour, which might hamper the work of the Committee or disturb the atmosphere required for promoting good relations between the employers and the employed.

The first formal meeting of the Enquiry Committee was held in Shillong on the 10th June, 1939, and thereafter they proceeded to Silchar to investigate conditions on tea estates where strikes had occurred and examined a number of witnesses in about ten estates including Urranaband Tea Estate. The members of the Indian Tea Association took exception to certain queries of the Congress members in the committee. It was contended by them that the members of the Committee, who were representatives of Labour and the Assembly, were interpreting the terms of reference, laid by the Government resolution, in a manner contrary to the aims and purposes of the inquiry and the understanding on which the Committee was set up. They also alleged that the interpretation was quite hostile to the industry and levelled against the various members the charge of indisciplined action against the President of the Committee. The Indian Tea Association ultimately decided that it was impossible for them to continue to co-operate with such an Inquiry Committee and the Government were officially informed of this.

The Committee could not possibly function in the face of opposition from the

Indian Tea Association and its highly prejudicial attitude. Various managing authorities and managers denied the Committee their right of examining the witnesses belonging to their estates. Negotiation on the question of continuance of the Committee on the part of the Indian Tea Association went on for some time. At last the Indian Tea Association succeeded in convincing the Central Government about the desirability of a closure of the Committee and thus it dealt a death blow to it. It was alleged that Mr. B. N. Mukherjee and Mr. A Chand belonging to the Congress Party took the most prominent part in digging out the black stones that had been successfully white-washed by some of the managing concerns. Mr. Lagden, however, declared that the Indian Tea Association was prepared to co-operate with an enquiry carried out by an individual person "acceptable to the tea industry."

But during the short life of the Committee it was revealed that the main cause of strikes was not extraneous political agitation but the grave economic injustice meted out to the labourers by the employers.

Close Relationship between Trade Depression and Labour Troubles.—The depression in tea trade had always been accompanied by grave labour troubles in tea estates. The wave of unrest that passed through the plantations during the periods of 1920-1922, 1928-1933 and 1937-1939 showed a very close relationship with the rise and fall in the price of tea in the external as well as internal market as is evident in the table annexed.

In the year 1920, the tea industry met a depression due to over-production. A sudden increase in tea production might be attributed to either or both of the following causes, namely,—(1) exceptionally favourable weather condition and (2) coarse

plucking which was a natural thing for garden managers to do in an expanding market and in rising prices. New areas were also brought under cultivation. The control of prices that was in operation during the period 1917 to 1918 was removed in 1919. Heavy exports (especially from Java and Sumatra) in the same year and in the early part of 1920 included tea of inferior quality which was the result of coarse plucking. Moreover, the large stocks held in London under Government control were unloaded on the market in 1920, as also the stocks that had accumulated at ports of shipment owing to lack of shipping facilities. In 1920, the normal rise during the autumn did not occur. On the contrary, wholesale prices of common tea fell steadily. In consequence, producers, including those in Java and Sumatra, agreed in the autumn of 1920 to restrict their crop severely for a season. Certain of the distributors in the United Kingdom themselves recommended this course as an urgent necessity. By means of this temporary restriction, aided by unfavourable weather conditions, accumulated stock was reduced. Prices were very low throughout 1921. After that a steady recovery followed.

From 1923 to 1927, prices were good. In 1928, a decline set in, and in 1929 prices fell still lower. By April of that year, the whole of the duty (4d. on foreign grown and 3½d. on Empire grown tea) was removed. Producers and merchants alike expected a fresh increase in the demand for tea in the United Kingdom. In addition to it, weather conditions in Northern India had been favourable and the supply of labour comparatively plentiful. The increased crop was directed to the United Kingdom, including supplies of Java tea diverted from Australia.* Consumption

* Imperial Economic Committee, 8th Report, 1928, p. 33.

in the United Kingdom did increase but at a diminished rate, and the increase was more than counter-balanced by the increase in stock. A general depression in trade became marked and the experience of 1920 was repeated in that tea price entirely failed to recover during the autumn. In fact it fell steadily. The price of Indian common tea particularly fell more than that of others. In 1932-33 the fall in tea prices was almost catastrophic. The average price of tea per lb. realised at the Calcutta auction sales during 1932-33 was 5 as. 2 pies as against 6 as. 5 pies in 1931-32 and 8 as. 4 pies in 1930-31. The position, however, improved considerably during 1933-34, when the prices realised averaged 8 as. 1 pie.

A reference to the above table will show the fluctuation in the average earnings of the labourers in the corresponding years of trade depression. A diminution in earnings, reduction in *ticca* work, compulsory longer hours of work accompanied by increased volume of unemployment which followed the depression, aggravated the hardships of the coolies caused by the rise in the cost of living index. The managers in many cases did their best to urge the Agents to raise the pay, but they refused to move in the matter so long as the police were available as strike breakers.

Redress of Grievances.—Until very recently any redress of the strikers' grievances was unknown. During the period 1920 to 1937, there were hardly 5 cases of dispute where the workers' demand had been wholly or partially conceded. In 1938 and 1939 about 12 disputes were decided amicably through compromise between the employers and the employed. Throughout the history of the labour unrest, the policy of intimidation, discrimination and victimisation had been pursued by the employers. In almost all

cases of disputes the ring leaders and enthusiastic workers were picked out and sentenced to death, transportation for life and rigorous imprisonment; a good many were fined heavily. Instead of attempting a sympathetic understanding of the coolies' point of view, a sense of consternation and terror was produced through various unscrupulous devices and agencies.

The suppression of any effort of the labourers to organise and put forth their legitimate grievances for redress is harmful and unfair. The attitude of suspicion and hostility shown by the Indian Tea Association, which represents 90 per cent. of the employers and which is the most perfect and complete organisation of the employers, should be abandoned. Their prejudice and mistrust are highly detrimental to any organisation of labour. Workers are becoming gradually but steadily saturated with class consciousness which, however, has not been successfully canalised into legitimate channels of collective bargaining or other forms of activity promoting class solidarity. If suppressed, it will surely result in sporadic and sudden outbursts of violence.

Hitherto in tea industry both employees and employers have depended upon the District or Sub-divisional Officer for the settlement of their disputes. 'Owing to the nature of the labour force and the isolation of the tea estates, prompt intervention is enjoined on the local officers by Government in the interests of peace and order, and the duties imposed on local officers do not stop at the suppression of any disorder.' They are enjoined always to investigate the causes of the trouble and the grievances put forward by the labourers and to secure their redress. But they seldom care to execute this most important part of their duty and too readily attempt to stifle agitation regardless of

its causes. Besides, there is a feeling among the labourers that justice is not duly and impartially administered by the Government, in the controversies between the planters and themselves. The official report pointed out in 1900 that, "Europeans being the administrators of justice in all disputes between European planters and labourers, it was impossible for them to be altogether uninfluenced by their natural feelings towards their fellow countrymen" (Page 23). "There is an undoubted tendency among Magistrates in Assam," continued the report, "to inflict severe sentences in cases in which coolies are charged with committing offences against their employers and to impose light and somewhat inadequate punishments upon employers when they are convicted of offences against labourers" (Page 23). Feelings of injustice must often have goaded the labourers to violent activities and lightning strikes.

Moreover, the illiterate workers are too timid to take action even if they realise that they are being cheated. The workers have seldom the means or the experience to engage in prolonged litigation. The responsibility for enforcing the various labour laws has for a long time been vested upon the inspectors whose number has never exceeded two in Assam. They are in charge of all kinds of industries. In their report on the Factory Act these inspectors have admitted their failure and have expressed their incapacity to discharge their duty. The task of enforcing laws has always been found more difficult than their enactment, and unless the labourers develop

some solidarity, most of the acts are sure to remain mere scraps of paper. As a matter of fact trade union organizations are the competent bodies to investigate into non-observance of the law and to start consequential legal proceedings.

In plantations the entire area belongs to the employers who are known to prohibit or restrain meetings of workers on their grounds and even to object to union men visiting the worker's quarters for propaganda. The latter amounts to the denial of civil rights to the workers. Indeed, the State should protect their rights of freedom of association, permitting legitimate trade union activities to be carried on at or near the coolie quarters, even though the land is owned by the employer. The persons interested in labour welfare must be allowed free access, nay, they should be welcomed in the garden among the workers. The State should pluck up courage to insist upon the removal of just labour grievances and upon a policy of co-operation between garden labour and management. The most powerful factor discouraging the spread of labour organization is the fear of victimisation and it is no idle or imaginary fear. The class consciousness and the spirit of self-assertion among the labourers, now evident even in the most inaccessible gardens, are welcome signs. The labourers must be allowed to organize themselves and helped to ventilate their grievances and demands through trade union organizations without intimidation and discrimination.

(See table given on next page for details.)'

Years	Total number of strikes	Number of disputes relating to wages	Year	Average price of Indian Tea*		Average declared value of exports in sea		AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS									
				Per lb.	Variation	Rs. a. p.	Per lb.	Variation	Rs. a. p.		Assam Valley		Surma Valley		Men	Women	Children
											Men	Women	Men	Women			
1920	7	7	1917-18	0 7 3	121	0 7 10	112		Rs. a. p. Rs. a. p.								
1921	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—									
1922	—	—	1921-22	0 10 1	168	0 9 3	132										
1923	—	—	1922-23	0 13 3	221	0 12 3	175										
1924	8	7	1923-24	0 15 0	250	0 14 11	213	11 5	1 9 8	9 5 4	3 6	12 10 6	15 5 4	11 4			
1925	—	—	1924-25	0 15 11	265	0 15 9	225										
1926	2	—	1925-26	0 13 5	224	0 13 4	190										
1927	29	27	1926-27	0 12 3	204	0 13 4	190										
1928	1	1	1927-28	0 14 10	247	0 14 4	205										
1929	10	3	1928-29	0 11 4	189	0 11 10	169	14 1	5 11 4	2 7 6	110	13 11 8	11 2 5	7 11			
1930	19	11	1929-30	0 9 11	165	0 11 1	158										
1931	40	22	1930-31	0 9 4	156	0 10 7	151	14 0	110	12 4 7	4 1 9	3 2 7	10 5 5	3 6			
1932	31	20	1931-32	0 6 5	107	0 9 1	130	12 8	5 9 8	7 6	15 8 7	14 11 6	1 1 4	9 1			
1933	7	7	1932-33	0 5 2	86	0 7 3	104	11 12	8 8	15 6 6	6 9 7	6 9 5	4 10 4	2 7			
1934	7	6	1933-34	0 9 7	160	0 10 0	143	7 7	7 5	14 4 3	8 5 6	3 11	10 2 10	2			
1935	6	5	1934-35	0 8 9	146	0 9 11	142	7 2	11 5 7	3 5 5	3 5 10	9 3 12	4 2 11	5			
1936	8	8	1935-36	0 9 5	157	0 10 2	145	6 13	2 5	10 4 4	0 2 4	12 11 4	0 1 2	13 7			
1937	4	4	1936-37	0 10 1	168	0 10 8	152	7 3	5 5	13 4 4	7 5	10 11 4	1 10 2	12 9			
1938	7	3	1937-38	0 11 4	189	0 11 8	167	7 1	9 5	13 7 4	3 4 6	2 5 4	4 1 2	15 2			
1939	17	16	1938-39	0 9 7	160	0 10 9	154	7 15	3 6 7	5 4 9	2 6 5	5 4 5	6 3 2	1			
1940	5	5	1939-40	0 11 5	190	0 11 8	167	7 14	1 6 3	8 4 7	9 6 4	7 4 7	3 3 1	8			

* Indian Tea Statistics 1940, P. 2.

Average of 1901 to 1911 being taken as 100 in each case.

THE BLIND : SOCIAL LIABILITIES OR SOCIAL ASSETS ?

S. C. Roy

Throughout history, until recent years, the blind were regarded as helpless dependents who lived in a world apart. The aim of modern work with the blind is to help each sightless person to lead a life as nearly normal as possible. The emphatic view of the author of this article is that the blind child like the sighted child has the necessary potentialities and if given the necessary education and training, will become a social asset.

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If an attempt were made to collect from the general reading public, their views on the question as to whether blind individuals are social liabilities or social assets, it is quite certain that the majority reaction would be in favour of regarding those deprived of physical vision as definite social drags. In conformity with the knowledge and experience possessed by an average person in this particular matter, specially in India, no other response would appear to be feasible.

It must, further, be conceded that a large number of pre-historic as well as historic evidences have demonstrated the truth of this viewpoint with challenging decisiveness. The blind, along with other physically handicapped persons, presented themselves as all-round liabilities in the social and economic set-ups of those days. When tribes developed from small family groups, the blind could not obviously keep up with the pace of those constantly roving clans, with the result that they either slowed down the tempo of their fellow-travellers or, more frequently, they were left behind to perish "unwept and unsung". It was too early a stage of ethical evolution to expect the so-called normals to stretch forward their hands which could be held by the sightless members of the group so that the latter could also fall in with the same rhythm of speed.

This was not all. The blind failed to procure their own share of food through hunting, the usual means prevalent at the time, and they had perforce to live as

economic burdens on their fellow-beings. They were also unable to defend themselves adequately from their human foes and the wild beasts, and their military usefulness—a very important standard for judging one's social value in those days—was of no significance at all.

In these and various other ways, the blind were found wanting in the scale of social usefulness. At a time when the development of social consciousness was at its minimal point, the absence of economic and military utility in a group of persons could hardly be tolerated. This accounts for the moral and legal prescriptions in ancient Greece and in some other countries, recommending the annihilation of blind and otherwise physically infirm children. A few of these gruesome practices may be mentioned here.

In Sparta, a child, suspected to be blind, either from birth or in its very early years, had, in accordance with the laws of Lycurgus, to be presented before five elders. If these wise men came to the decision that the child was without sight, their usual recommendation would be to expose the sightless child in the wilderness or on the mountain-tops so that the helpless child would perish by itself or be devoured by wild animals, as the blind children, if allowed to grow up, could not be harnessed into the social mechanism of Sparta.

The laws of Solon in Athens prescribed that sightless babies should be placed in clay vessels and abandoned on the wayside. No one was advised to evince

pity towards these helpless infants and save them from the jaws of death. It is very surprising indeed that the advanced thinkers, like Plato and Aristotle, lent their theoretical support to these inhuman practices in Greece. In the Ideal State, as depicted by Plato, there is no place for the weak and handicapped. These persons must be supremely happy at the thought that Plato's Ideal State still remains merely an ideal vision and has not yet been carried out into an actuality.

In Rome, Romulus decreed that a blind child should be brought before five neighbours and their decision on its fate would be final. This rule was modified by the Law of the 12 Tables, according to which the judgment of five neighbours was replaced by that of the father of the sightless child. In the markets of Rome, the civilized Romans saw with perfect calm and complacency the brisk sale of small baskets in which babies without sight were deposited and thrown into the waves of the Tiber.

The fate of those who lost their sight later in life, was no better. They were regarded as drags and parasites on others, and to destroy them outright was considered as a laudable act among many tribes and nations. Various means were adopted to get rid of the aged blind: they were either killed by the sword, drowned, consigned to the flames, or buried alive. Among some tribes in Sumatra and in certain Polynesian islands, it was customary for sons to "kill, cook, and eat" their blind and otherwise physically deformed parents. Euripides, the renowned Greek playwright, urged on blind persons to commit suicide, and Eratosthenes, the octogenarian Greek scholar, avoided his approaching blindness by starving himself to death.

In course of time, however, social consciousness developed and respect for human personality grew. The progressive

sections of the people revolted against the above mentioned atrocities committed on sightless children and adults. As a result, exposure of blind babies was renounced in many countries. The Hebrews argued that the children were the gifts of God and they belonged to him; it was, therefore, anti-religious to dispose of these children. The indigent Thebans, instead of exposing their blind infants, sold them for a price, and these children became the slaves of those who reared them.

The social attitude towards those who became sightless in their adult years also underwent a tremendous transformation. As a result, care and some sort of occupational training were substituted in the place of total annihilation. This change of outlook is apparent from the ancient records of several peoples. The Old Testament contains a host of humane admonitions regarding the blind, two of which are cited here: "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind, but shalt fear thy God: I am the Lord." (*Leviticus*, Ch. XIX, Vs. 14). "Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way. And all the people shall say, Amen." (*Deuteronomy*, Ch. XXVII, Vs. 18). It is gathered from other records of the Jewish people that some of the visually handicapped Jews were engaged in certain profitable occupations. The learned among them were employed as tutors, while those without any intellectual training turned the grinding-mills.

It is very gratifying to note that the gruesome practice of exposing blind children or destroying sightless adults was never in vogue in India. Many ancient Indian records show, on the contrary, that the blind as well as other physically handicapped persons were treated with extreme kindness and sympathy by the kings and the people at large. Just a

few from among the countless instances may be set forth here, in support of this point of view : " Granting food, clothes and shelter, they (the kings) shall support those who are incapable of transacting legal business, namely, the blind, idiots, those immersed in vice, the incurably diseased, those who neglect their duties and occupations, and so on." (Laws of Baudhayana, Prashna II, Adhyaya II, Kandika III, Vs. 37-39). The 16th Verse of the Laws of Apastamba, Prashna II, Patala X, Khanda XXVI, states that " the blind, dumb, deaf, and diseased persons, as long as their infirmities last " should be free from taxation.

In the great epic, " Mahabharata " (Sabha Parba, Ch. V), the illustrious sage, Narada, asks Yudhisthira : " Do you treat as father your subjects who are afflicted with blindness, dumbness, lameness, deformity, friendlessness, and those who have renounced the world ? "

In determining the right of way, possessed by various persons, Ashtavakra, a distinguished Hindu law-giver, handed down the following decision : " The right of way belongs to the Brahmin, the blind, the dumb, the women, carriers, and the king in the successive order." (" Mahabharata," Banaparba, Ch. CXXXII.)

Markandeya, another important law-giver, ruled that : " The dumb, blind, or deaf Brahmins should be employed with other learned Brahmins, although Brahmins with other physical defects, such as, leprosy, etc., should be excluded." (" Mahabharata," Banaparba, Ch. 198).

The foregoing illustrations, culled from the books composed long before the Christian era, bring out in clear relief the varied ways in which the ancient Indians endeavoured to assist their sightless and otherwise physically handicapped fellow-beings, and to make them socially and economically useful.

Like the Hebrews and the Hindus, the peoples of other lands also made attempts to convert at least some of their blind individuals into social assets. In China, a small percentage of the blind became well-known sooth-sayers. The Great Hadrian found the blind in Egypt gainfully employed as professional mourners, while in Greece a number of sightless individuals acquired fame and wealth as prophets and seers. Some Greek States enacted laws providing financial relief to those indigent blind persons who were citizens.

Notwithstanding these sporadic attempts at helping the blind and thereby rendering them socially useful, the real beneficiaries were indeed very few. The miseries of the overwhelming majority of the blind were varied and manifold. Most of them were destitute beggars, depending for their livelihood on unorganized public philanthropy or private charity. It is beyond question that they were anything but social liabilities, and it is too much to expect otherwise of them, having regard to the circumstances under which they lived, moved and had their being. Even the seeing persons could not be of much benefit either to themselves or to society under similar social reverses. To turn a child, seeing or sightless, into a social asset, postulates the prior fulfilment of two fundamental and invariable conditions, viz., vigilant care and protection up to a certain age, and the right type of moral and vocational education in conformity with the needs and abilities of the child. Both these factors were conspicuous by their absence, at least in a systematic and universal sense, so far as the blind were concerned, and the sightless individuals could hardly be expected to rise beyond the state of contemptible liabilities under the prevalent conditions. The emphatic view of the present writer is that a blind child

has the same potentialities as a child with sight to become a social asset, provided the above-stated two fundamental requisites are fulfilled, and it is also maintained here that if these conditions are carried out in the case of a sightless child, but withheld or neglected in the case of a child with unimpaired vision, the social usefulness of the former will be, of necessity, even greater both in quality and quantity than that of the latter. In this implicit syllogistic argument, it is, of course, presumed that the physical condition and the mentality of a blind child or adult are what they should be.

In respect of the blind in the Western countries, the advent of Christianity marked the introduction, on a more systematic basis, of one of the two factors referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph, i.e., care and protection of the blind. One of the most unequivocal teachings of Christ was and is that one should have compassion towards the poor—towards the deprived in every sense of the term, and at least the early Christians endeavoured to actualize this command of their Master. The Christian community in general and the church officials in particular had their doors open for all types of handicapped people. St. Jerome urged that "One should be eyes to the blind, arms to the weak, and feet to the lame." Many hospital brotherhoods were set up, where the blind, along with other physically deprived individuals, were sheltered, fed and clothed. The most famous of these hospital brotherhoods was founded by St. Basil in 369 A. D. at Caesaria-in-Cappadocia. The blind soon succeeded in capturing more sympathy and kindness than others, and, from the 5th century onwards, several hospices were established exclusively for them. The most well-known of these separate establishments for the blind was known as "Quinze-Vingts," founded in Paris by Louis IX in 1254.

With the decline of the power and influence of the church towards the end of the Middle Ages, the care and protection of the poor and the infirm were transferred to a large measure to State and city authorities. In England, for instance, specific Acts were passed as early as 1573 and 1601, authorizing the imposition of a tax for the purpose of supporting those who were incapacitated for work.

Mere care and protection are, however, not enough to remove the blind from the list of social liabilities. No attempt was made to train and educate the blind in ancient or medieval times, barring a few isolated instances of blind persons in various countries who distinguished themselves as scholars and prophets through their own industry and through the efforts of their friends and relatives. This explains the fact that the modern chapter of history opens with the picture of the blind, some of whom were well cared for, but very few possessing any manual or mental skill.

Diderot, a great French thinker of the 18th century, is reported to be the first man who suggested the need of educating the blind on a universal basis in his "Letter on the Blind," published in 1749. He was, however, too much of an abstract thinker to work out his own suggestion and transform it into a practical scheme. It was left to Valentin Haüy, another Frenchman, who was powerfully influenced by the revolutionary and reformist thinking of the famous intellectual trio of his time and country, namely, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot, to establish the first school for the blind in Paris in 1784. The fact that Haüy had to pay his first and only pupil with whom he started his school, in order to compensate him for the loss of income derived from begging, is revelatory of the exact status of the blind at that time.

The success of this French school—the first school for the blind in the world—led to the establishment of similar institutions in different parts of the globe in course of time. At present, all advanced countries have on their Statute Books compulsory educational laws, applicable not only to sighted children, but also to those without sight; there are as many as a dozen schools and agencies for the blind in some large and progressive cities; the methods and techniques of teaching sightless children have been immensely improved; the mechanical appliances, employed in the education of the blind have been perfected and several new devices ushered into existence; and, finally, the reading matter for the blind has increased in almost geometrical progression. In a word, all the front-rank countries of the world have taken such steps as to ensure the possibility of every sightless person receiving the blessings of education, suited to his needs and innate capacities, provided he cares for it.

It may be argued that, despite the possibility of training and educating the blind, they continue to remain as social liabilities, and that nothing has been stated so far to prove otherwise. In other words, the absence of physical vision is such a major handicap that no amount of training or education can make the blind individuals self-supporting and contributing members of society.

This argument may be met by pointing out, in the first place, that every one, sighted or sightless, needs some type of training in order to become a social asset. The so-called normal persons would also be regarded as social liabilities if they were not trained for one or more occupations. No one, blind or seeing, could be considered as an asset to society *ab initio* unless there was an *a priori* assumption

that he was capable of being useful through some sort of intellectual or manual training. This is why the fact that the blind are capable of receiving training in certain vocations, if necessary facilities are provided, had to be stated first. The reason why the handicapped children and adults were annihilated in the ancient times is that the people lacked the knowledge of methods and techniques required to train the minds and hands of these unfortunates, and they naturally treated them as social liabilities from the moment of the onset of their physical handicap. Even today a sizable number of people find a considerable difficulty in believing that the blind can be trained for any vocation. This is borne out by the immense surprise which many persons evince when they hear about, or, are confronted by, a highly trained blind individual.

In the second place, quite a large number of blind persons have, through appropriate training and education, proved themselves as useful members of society. What is, after all, the exact connotation of "social liability"? While expanding the concept of social efficiency, Prof. John Dewey, one of the greatest pragmatic philosophers, states: "If an individual is not able to earn his own living and that of the children dependent upon him, he is a drag or parasite upon the activities of others."

From this point of view, a host of sightless individuals in the advanced countries of Europe, America and Japan have become as socially efficient as their sighted compatriots. There are, for instance, several blind lawyers, legislators, judges, professors, school and business administrators, journalists, physicians, clergymen, authors, traders, life insurance agents, musicians, industrial workers and so on. A good many specific instances may be cited, but only a few are mentioned here:

Mr. Henry Faucett, a blind Englishman, served as the Postmaster-General of Great Britain for several years, and, thus, held a position in the British Ministry. It is interesting to note that he was also a member of the House of Commons and, owing to his great sympathy for India, he was nicknamed the "India Member." He initiated many laws and regulations providing facilities to the blind in postal matters.

Mr. Walter R. McDonald, blind since the age of 13 owing to a gun accident, is the Chairman of the Public Service Commission in Georgia, U.S.A. In addition to this position, he is the President of the South-Eastern Association of Rail Road Utilities Commissioners, and the Executive Secretary and Director of Freight and Rate Adjustments for the Southern Governors' Conference.

Mr. William Taylor is a lawyer of great reputation in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. He is a solicitor for two Townships, one school Board, one Building and Loan Association and one Chamber of Commerce. He is also a member of the Public Relations Committee of the Pennsylvania Bar Association, the Chairman of the Speakers' Bureau of the Junior Bar Conference of the American Bar Association and the Director on the Board of a local Children's Health Camp.

A very well-known blind professor who is in charge of the Department of History at Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Mississippi, U.S.A., is Dr. David Guyton. He is also the President of a bank in that town, and is a correspondent for several years.

Miss Smith, an American lady, is a blind reporter of the "Buffalo Courier Express," an influential paper in the State of New York. She travels throughout the Continent of America and, Canada with

the aid of her Seeing Eye dog, and, thus, collects news and views for her paper.

Louis Braille is to be remembered specially by blind persons all over the world, since it is his invention that has made their reading and writing possible, and it is used everywhere with local adaptations. He was born in France in 1809, and lost his vision during his childhood owing to an accident. In this particular case, which should be true everywhere, a blind person has led the blind.

The last war has demonstrated more conclusively than ever that the blind may become socially useful if sufficient opportunities are provided. Owing to manpower shortage, resulting from sighted persons being drafted into direct military services, thousands of blind individuals in Great Britain and America were recruited for factories and other allied establishments. Most of these recruits, who had been idle on account of the lack of facilities, gave good accounts of themselves as efficient workers.

One important point which should not be allowed to escape attention in this context is that these blind workers, who served in offices and factories during the last war, were not the so-called intellectuals or specially gifted people; but they were ordinary men and women, having average training and abilities. This dispels the belief, held by some people, that a blind person, in order to be of any use to society, must have a very superior intellect and certain mystic powers.

In India, the reasons for the overwhelming majority of the blind remaining as social liabilities, are mainly two: First, the Government and the public have made very small provisions for the training and education of blind children and adults. It has already been pointed out that even

the sighted individuals are unable to become socially efficient without some sort of training in one or more vocations.

A few figures may be noted in order to present the picture of the educational conditions of the blind in this country. According to the Census Report of 1931, that being the latest statistics of the blind, the number of sightless individuals in India were a little over 600,000. This figure has been challenged as a colossal under-estimation by many experts engaged in welfare work for the blind and in efforts to prevent blindness. They place the number of the blind in India in the neighbourhood of 2,000,000. Assuming the statistics of 1931 census record to be accurate, it is still obvious that the existing homes and institutions, numbering about 40, are too inadequate to function efficiently for such a vast number of the blind.

This is only the quantitative aspect of the problem. Qualitatively, the situation is still more serious. Owing to the absence of the appropriate knowledge on the part of school authorities as well as to the proverbial "financial stringency," very few blind institutions are well equipped for their tasks; very few teachers have been trained for this specialized field of blind education and psychology of blindness; very little research in the manifold problems of blind life has been undertaken; and practically no attempt to place the blind in suitable occupations after their period of training, has been made. All these subjects and various others are of vital importance in the process of converting the blind from social liabilities to social assets. This is, however, not the right place to enter into a detailed exposition of these problems. It is hoped that what has been stated above in a rather snapshot fashion will bring about at least an approximate realization of the immensity of the ground which still remains to be covered

before the blind in India may be expected to become self-supporting and socially useful citizens.

Secondly, the public in general and the employers in particular have been very reluctant to hire blind labour. This may be explained by the fact that our people have a traditional way of looking upon the blind and the work on their behalf in the spirit of charity, benevolence and philanthropy, and not from the standpoint of any socio-economic consideration. This point is of supreme importance. Judgments and actions, guided by humanitarian motivations, have excellent uses in certain spheres of activity, but their application in the day-to-day business world is neither effective nor desirable. The blind should be trained and employed not so much for their own sake, but principally because of the fact that, with such a vast section of humanity lagging behind educationally and economically, the integral progress of society as a whole will definitely be held back. This realization has found an admirable expression in the following extracts from the report of the Whitehouse Conference on Child Health and Protection :

"If we want civilization to march forward, it will march not only on the feet of healthy children, but beside them, shoulder to shoulder, must go those others—those children we have called the handicapped—the lame ones, the blind, the deaf, and those sick in body and mind. All these children are ready to be enlisted in this moving army, ready to make their contribution to human progress; to bring what they have of intelligence, of capacity, of spiritual beauty. American civilization cannot ignore them."

The civilization of India cannot ignore them either. .

ORGANIZATION OF OUR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

A. M. LORENZO

Perhaps at no other time in history has the organization of agricultural workers been of such importance as today. A very definite conflict is brewing between organized movement of workers and the vested interests. Frank facing of facts on both sides alone will lead to a permanent settlement of points of dispute. The following article is a study of the organization of Indian agricultural workers, from the point of view of important backgrounds, recent developments and significant trends.

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Within the rural society genuine class struggles may emerge in the form of conflicts between the rent-receivers and tenant cultivators, the peasant proprietors and field-labourers, or the estate-owners and landless serfs. These conflicts contrast sharply with general conflicts between town and country interests which characterize a true agrarian movement. In India, as elsewhere, the emergence of agrarian movements is due mainly to the encroachment of urban interests upon the vital rural interests. Such encroachments have taken the form of absorption of better agricultural lands by urban wealth, the saddling of the whole rural communities with heavy debts, and the introduction of a host of sub-infeudatories and parasitic middlemen in the wake of absentee landlordism.

The Nexus of Agrarian Movements.—Hunger for land has been the motive force behind all agrarian movements, past or present. Since all peasant interests, social and political, and their very life are built around the institution of land, it is not surprising that modern agrarian movements are also built around it. The agrarian movements in Russia were based on the 'principle of 'Land and Freedom,' whilst in Central Europe the agrarian demand resulted in the socialization of land, regulation of taxes and tariffs, and freedom from the clutches of the landlords. The Indian agrarian movements of the Twentieth

Century have also been organized with the objects of re-distribution of land, abolition of serfdom and forced labour (*begar*), elevation of general rural standard of living, allocation of political power to agricultural workers, and the attainment of these ends by legislative measures.

Unlike American Agrarianism, which has been mainly political, the European agrarian movements have won their chief victories through co-operation. The Indian agrarian movement, though at present under way, appears to be the natural expression of rural communal ideals and sentiments, and has therefore promptly assumed a moral colour. It is not characterized by violence, though it ceaselessly agitates to bring about reform by non-violent and constitutional means. But the apathy of the State toward these movements, and the delay in the appeasement of the agrarian rage by peaceful settlement, are steadily throwing the agricultural workers' organizations in the gamut of communism. There is, therefore, a strong and growing tendency for the Indian agrarian movement to adopt reactionary programmes inculcated by pseudo-revolutionary elements upon rural society.

Inherent Drawbacks.—Despite the efforts of social workers, agricultural labour in India has remained aloof from Trade Unions. The reasons are obvious. The agricultural industry is composed of scattered and often inaccessible units, the

workers do not reside in a compact area, there is a close personal relationship between the landlord and the worker, and the financial resources of agricultural workers are too small and often not in cash. Moreover, the conservative habits of the mind of those associated with land ; the futility of the strike as a lever in the face of slow processes of nature ; the abundance of the unemployed ranks of landless and unspecified workers in rural areas, who could be employed as substitutes in times of strikes ; and the absence of protection from the State, which almost always sides with vested interests, are the main drawbacks which have doomed all attempts at effective organization to failure.

The organizers who are responsible for the direction of the Agricultural Labour Union Policy have, therefore, wisely confined their energies to campaigns for social welfare. Though labour grievances are dealt with by philanthropists and social workers as problems of local importance, and their disputes settled by mutual agreements between the landlords and workers or by moral suasion and arbitration, the employers neither appreciate the intervention of private and outside agencies in the settlement of disputes, nor do they yet recognize the rights of self-organization and collective bargaining of agricultural workers. There is, moreover, no legislation in respect of agricultural workers' unions, and in the absence of legal status and State protection the activities of these organizations are regarded both illegal and anti-social. The landlords everywhere look upon these unions with suspicion, and their officials and spokesmen are regarded as mischief-mongers who create labour troubles where none exist, and who thus disturb rural peace and paralyse agriculture. On slight suspicion, large scale victimizations take place in regions where

large scale landlords predominate, and ruthless methods of repression and violence are employed to discourage workers from associating themselves with any union.

Agricultural workers in India do not yet have the right to self-determination. In this respect they fall behind their industrial confreres. Obstacles to the growth of unions are placed both by the active resistance from the landlords and with the connivance of the State. The majority of the landlords find in the workers' organization nothing but a challenge to their power and authority, while the unscrupulous among them do not hesitate by any means, fair or foul, to nip in the bud growing cohesion among the workers. Unfortunately, they do succeed too often owing to the characteristic economic and social background of Indian labour. But the advantages which the landlords obtain from such unfair practices are only temporary and precarious, for the proletariat consciousness that now sweeps through India touches even the workers isolated in distant jungles and hillsides. If this repression of the workers' impulses and desires to unite and organize continues any further, the thwarted drives shall find outlets in lightning strikes, mob outbursts, arson and sabotage, and even a bloody revolution. In such cases it is the State more to blame for having failed to protect the rights of workers and for not creating a healthy atmosphere for the growth of unionism.

Recent Developments in India.—Agricultural Labour Movements in India are of comparatively recent growth. They are parallel manifestations of the democratic movement of the Twentieth Century. Although characteristic differences may appear in the nature and technique of these organizations in different parts of

the country, the fundamental causes of their origin and growth are socio-economic, and therefore their objectives and programmes are more or less similar.

The first signs of rural discontent were witnessed soon after the first World War, when agricultural calamities came thick and fast, and the whole agrarian economy was thrown into a chaos. The rapid decline in agricultural income and wage level, the growing scourge of agricultural unemployment and a leap in the size of rural families, the dispossession of peasant proprietors and the growth of absentee rent receivers, the collection of arrears from tenants with an iron hand and the sweating of agricultural workers—all these factors and forces were responsible in fermenting a hatred against the landlords, and the rural masses grew suspicious of the motives of the Governments which played in the hands of vested interests. The rising tide of socialism made the working classes conscious of their rights, and the widespread discontent and distress amongst the rural masses produced conditions of unrest in the ranks both of tenant cultivators and landless serfs.

In this chaotic atmosphere, the Indian National Congress infused the spirit of freedom, and organized a Mass Contact programme for preparing the masses for revolt against the ruling classes. Out of this soil sprang up active agricultural labour organizations in almost all parts of the country to wrest political power from the alien rulers and wrench economic freedom out of the hands of capitalist exploiters. The first Kisan Sangh was organized in 1922 in the U.P. to combat the tyrannies of the Taluqdars of Oudh, followed by the Kisan Sabhas of Bihar sometime in 1926, the Krishak Party of Bengal in 1931, the Khet Mazdoor Unions of the U. P. and the C. P. in 1927, and the States

Praja Unions (essentially of Agricultural Workers) during the period of depression (1932-38). These labour and peasant unions soon became an active and aggressive force in the fight for the country's freedom both politically and economically, and evoked great hopes in the hearts of communist revolutionaries. In 1931 the Congress launched the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Provincial Congressmen naturally lashed the peasantry into political action.

Then followed the repressive measures of the Provincial Governments which smelt rat of revolt in these organizations. Equipped with emergency powers, the police swept down upon the rural masses with an iron hand, and the atrocities which were perpetrated in the name of peace and order are unknown in the annals of any civilized country of the globe. The wailings of the innocent promoted Mahatma Gandhi to open negotiations with Lord Willingdon, and in 1931 the Gandhi-Willingdon talks at Simla resulted in rent reductions to the extent of Rs. 4 crores and the right to organize agricultural workers into unions was formally recognized. But the repressive policy of Lord Willingdon and his notorious Police Knights, which is writ large in the first few pages of the Indian agrarian history, took the wind out of the sails, and considerably weakened the Agricultural Labour Organizations all over the country.

The ceaseless agitations of the Congress, nevertheless, demanding the scaling down of rents in proportion to the fall in prices of agricultural products during the period of depression, and the solution of agrarian problems in general, infused a new spirit into the dying peasantry, and once again with new zest and fresh vigour the agrarian movement was put on wheels. After about a decade's chequered history and administrative impediments, the Kisan

Movement found stable ground and its growth was rapid and vigorous, particularly in the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency. The Congress intensified its rural contact programme through the district Kisan Sabhas, and organized "Kisan Conferences," "Kisan Marches" and "Kisan Days." Branches of the Kisan Movement were organized in almost all districts of the British Provinces and Indian States, and the membership increased at a rapid rate, exceeding 7 million workers at the outbreak of the Global War in September 1939.

In the United Provinces the Kisan Sabha was finally organized in 1935, and in the same year at its first Provincial Conference the Sabha decided in favour of the abolition of the Zamindari system. In June 1937 the Provincial Congress Committee intensified its rural contact programme which gave a great impetus to the Kisan Movement. District Kisan Sabhas were organized to carry on an agitation on long standing demands and in July 1938 the U.P. Kisan Committee presented the Kisans' case before the Rent and Tenancy Enquiry Committee of the U.P. Government. In April 1938 a mammoth demonstration was held by 80,000 peasants before the Legislative Assembly at Lucknow to ask Congressmen to implement their election promises. Their minimum demands were the wiping off of rents in arrears, repudiation of all debts to money-lenders, a fifty per cent reduction in rent, permanency of tenure, and the retention of their title in the cultivation of Sir land, abolition of *Hari* and *Begar*, remission of canal rates, and cessation of ejections of tenants from land and house-sites. But the failure of the Congress Party to give permanent relief to the Kisans and their notorious pact with the Taluqdars on the U.P. Tenancy Bill aroused much suspicion

and anger amongst the Kisan Sabhaites. This led to the splitting up of the Sabha into two distinct organizations : (a) The Kisan Sabha, a peaceful and constitutional association of cultivators, and (b) the Kisan Sangh, an aggressive political party with a revolutionary economic programme. The Kisan Sangh, which has come to be associated with the Congress Socialist Party, is now the strongest single organization of agricultural workers in the Province. "All power to the masses" is their chief slogan, hence the demand for the wholesale expropriation of the landlords. The two-fold objective of the Sangh is to win political freedom for the country, in the sense of separation from the British Empire, and to establish a Socialist State ; and to plan and control the economic life of the country on the Soviet model. It is the firm belief of the members of the Sangh that economic reconstruction of the country is impossible without the attainment of complete Swaraj.

In Bihar, the Socialist propaganda and the Congress Mass Contact programme infused a real fighting spirit amongst the Kisans for redressing their own grievances, and the outcome was the Bihar Kisan Sabha in 1926. The Sabha, soon after presenting a Memorandum in 1928 to the All Parties Conference, was suppressed during the Non-co-operation Movement (1928-33). It was, however, on the advent of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati that the real Kisan Movement began in Bihar early in 1934, and just about the same time the emergence of the Congress Socialist Party added zest to the movement. The progress of the Bihar Kisan Sabha continued unabated and in May 1938 it was the largest Agricultural Labour Organization with a membership of over 300,000 workers. It organized meetings and demonstrations all over the Province to awaken

the masses, and demanded the wholesale expropriation of the zamindars. In 1937 it presented a manifesto of 35 demands to the Congress Ministry, most important amongst which were on the drastic reduction in land and water rates, returning of *bakasht* land to the original tillers of the soil, abolition of the system of payment of rent and attachment of homestead in evacuation of a decree for arrears in rent. The Congress Government introduced a Tenancy Bill which only partially satisfied the peasant demands, and the ministry was accused of siding with the zamindars. In July 1938 the Bihar Kisan Council passed a resolution condemning the Congress-Zamindar Agreement, denouncing the Congress Ministry, and seceding from the Congress fold. As an independent organization, the Bihar Kisan Sabha has grown into a powerful political party, and its detachment from the Congress party may presage a serious political disaster that the Congress may have to face in the near future.

In Bengal, the Krishak Sabha was organized in 1931 by some Congressmen with the object of protecting cultivators from the oppression of landlords, but it made little headway. In 1934, another movement, fostered specially by Muslim Kisans, was organized under the name and style of the Proja Party of Bengal. Later on when the Scheduled Castes also joined it and the socialist-minded youth captured several of its branches and a part of its leadership, it changed into the Krishak Proja Party and adopted a radical agrarian programme. The inception of the movement is due largely to the desire of the tenantry of Bengal to become free peasant-proprietors, and a genuine interest in the economic and social uplift of the masses. In 1936, Mr. Fazlul Haq, the leader of the party, adopted in part the All-India Kisan Sabha's manifesto and declared

himself in favour of the abolition of the zamindari system. This contributed most to the triumph of the party candidates in the 1937 general elections, and with the majority of seats in the Lower House and the weight of insistence of the masses behind it, the Krishak Proja Party became the most powerful political body in Bengal. The influence of the party was, however, short-lived in the face of bitter opposition from Hindu Zamindars who wanted to retain permanent settlement and the Muslim masses who were pledged to the Muslim League in the name of religion. The Proja Party exhausted the patience of the agricultural workers because it could not implement even a part of the programme for which it was originally formed and thus failed to ameliorate the economic condition of the rural masses.

The first attempt to organize landless agricultural workers was made as early as 1923 in the Madras Presidency, but little success was in the showing. The movement could not be placed on a sound footing because the workers who are mainly poor and low in caste, lacked political consciousness and firmness to withstand the influence of their employers. When in 1926 the British Government raised the bogey of depressed classes as an objection to granting Swaraj, the problem received serious consideration in Congress circles. Since then Mahatma Gandhi has been devoting his attention to the uplift of the Harijans who constitute the bulk of agricultural labour power. The Congress Ministry in Madras organized a Labour Department and devoted most of its attention to the welfare of landless workers by establishing schools, constructing model hamlets, and providing scholarships for vocational training. The Khet-Mazdoor Unions were organized in many districts of the Andhra Province, credit for which is due largely

to socialist workers. The Charter of minimum demands which the Andhra Agricultural Labour Union has published contains only those demands which the peasants are capable and willing to implement without much difficulty. The demands of Khet-Mazdoor Unions included the right to become cultivators of all *sikmy* land, the commutation of praedial exactions into cash, the abolition of the system of forced labour and serfdom, the supply of house sites free of charge and protection against ejection from such sites, an increase in the rate of wages with a minimum wage enforced by the Government and permanency of employment, and special legislation for the protection of woman and child labour employed in agriculture.

Amalgamation of Agrarian Movements.—Since the problems of landless field workers are not fundamentally different from those of tenant-cultivators and peasant-proprietors, sporadic attempts were made in the United Provinces and Madras to amalgamate all agrarian movements into a single organization. It was due to the efforts of Ranga and Giri that the South Indian Federation of Peasants and Workers was organized in 1935, to which were affiliated all Kisan Sabhas, Khet-Mazdoor Unions, and other Agricultural Labour Organizations of the Andhra Province. The organization of the All-India Kisan Sabha in 1935, with the active support of the U.P. and Bihar agricultural labour organizations, was a fresh move in this direction. The efforts of this organization are now directed to the bridging of the gulf between the Kisan and Khet-Mazdoor Unions. It is now clear that as the Kisans are able to gain more and more concessions from the landlords and relief from the Provincial Governments, either in the way of reduction of rent or in the shape of a

higher legal status, they should in turn make more and more concessions to agricultural workers. The lot of the Kisans can never improve unless they recognize the rights and privileges of the field-workers upon whose labour rests the entire prosperity of the Kisan class. The Kisan Sabhas will be considerably weakened without the co-operation of the Khet-Mazdoor Unions, and the latter will not be able to achieve much success without the sympathy and support of the former.

The All-India Kisan Sabha, which was organized to unite the Kisan movements of various Provinces and States in India, did not find favour with the Indian National Congress. The Congress felt, and rightly so, that this movement had become a rival of the Congress competing for the ryots. The Khet-Mazdoor Unions also disapproved the policy of the All-India Kisan Sabha in neglecting the landless class of workers. In 1936 the Congress organized an All-India Kisan Congress, which was to include all agrarian movements in the country. Two Committees were appointed, viz. the Mass Contact Committee and the Agrarian Sub-Committee, with the purpose of establishing and maintaining healthy co-operation between all classes of agricultural workers and the Congress, and of conducting enquiries into the economic condition of rural masses with a view to formulating proposals for their improvement. In 1938 the All-India Kisan Congress was functioning in 15 Provinces and States and embracing about 750,000 members.

The All-India Kisan Congress did not survive long. The failure of Congress Ministries to implement their election pledges, the adoption of the Red Flag by the Khet-Mazdoor Unions, the agitation of Kisan Sabhas against the Congress-Zamindar pacts in the U.P. and Bihar, led to the

separation of the All-India Kisan Sabha from the fold of the Congress. The Khet-Mazdoor Unions under the influence of communist leaders organized themselves into an independent body and adopted a revolutionary programme. At present, therefore, there is no organization to control and consolidate the interests of various agrarian movements in India. It is necessary, therefore, to organize a National Agrarian Party to function in Provinces and States, and federated into an All-India National Agrarian Party.

The programme of the Provincial Agrarian Party will be to capture the majority of seats in the Provincial Assembly, to carry through agrarian reform by planned legislation, to raise the standard of living of the rural masses, and to introduce constructive schemes to be adopted and implemented by the Provincial Government. The All-India National Agrarian Party shall consolidate the interests of various Provinces and States, and by capturing a large number of seats in the Central Assembly become a formidable political force. Its task shall be to deepen the concept of agrarianism and to build a new structure of agrarian philosophy, to show that in India, as in every other country, the agricultural worker is the creative element of the nation. Through the vote it shall try to seize the power and influence the legislators. By taking the Government in its own hands it shall be able to pass laws for the reduction or abolition of those taxes and duties which hinder rural industrial operations and hamper free trade.

Co-ordination of Agrarian and Industrial Organizations.—Attempts have been made at various times to unite the agrarian and industrial labour movements for both economic and political ends, and the most extensive experiments in this direction

have been carried out in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. In the Soviet Union the Agricultural and Industrial Workers' Unions have been merged into the Peasants' and Workers' Government, whilst in America the Knights of Labour, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Farmer-Labour Party have effected a consolidation of agrarian and industrial interests for the advancement of political policies. In China, too, since the Renaissance movement under the direction of the Kuomintang, the Farmers' Leagues and Industrial Workers' Unions have joined hands for a common struggle against the capitalist exploiters. In India as well there is now a definite move towards the combination of agrarian and industrial movements, and the organization of the Nationalist Labour and Peasant Party in the United Provinces and the South Indian Federation of Peasants and Workers are an indication of this imperious necessity.

There is, in India, a close affinity and complementary relationship between the rural and urban workers' organizations. Since the industrial working class is drawn mainly from, and continuously replenished by, the floating fund of agricultural labour in rural areas, the welfare of the rural workers is *a priori* condition for the economic amelioration of industrial workers. If the agricultural workers are in a bad plight, it will be difficult for the industrial workers to improve their lot, because the poverty, debt bondage, illiteracy, unemployment, health, low efficiency and lack of organization amongst the rural working classes are bound to act as a deadweight. The presence of a large landless and unemployed population in rural areas seriously affects the stability of industrial labour power in urban areas. Whenever there is a strike in any industrial centre, there are any number of agricultural workers available to take the

place of strikers, and the strike falls through. Likewise, on account of a seasonal and periodical migration of floating hands between the rural and urban areas, there can be no stability and effective control of industrial workers' organizations. Therefore, unless the problems of agricultural workers are solved and their ranks combined, there can be no stable organization of industrial workers and there will continue to be unrest in all industrial areas.

The rural and urban workers' organizations should, therefore, work hand in hand, supporting and supplementing each others' programme, because they are engaged in a common struggle against the capitalist employers—whether they be landlords or factory-owners. This complementary relationship between the agrarian and industrial movements, and the co-ordination of their programmes, are essential for the growth and development of them both together, otherwise neither is expected to rise much.

State and Agricultural Labour Organization.—The growth and development of the agrarian movement in India seems to be only recent. But the characteristics of rural local political organizations in various places and at various times have been similar. In isolated rural aggregates the organization is an extension of familism to the entire rural community. With the growing complexity of rural society, the encroachment of urban over rural interests, and the engulfment of the rural community by the larger political body, i.e., the State, the elements of familistic democracy, based on *mores*, have naturally been fading. Increased interference by State authorities in the control of rural affairs has decreased rural autonomy and the regime of familistic democracy has been replaced by the compulsory regime of State officialdom. However, even under such circumstances the

elements of familistic democracy have rarely been erased entirely.

With the decline of the rural political autonomy, and the diminished isolation of the rural community, the agricultural labourers began to participate more actively in national politics. Peasant political unions were organized and the complex machinery of political propaganda and influence was created. But their activities were suppressed by the Government. In its effort to please the vested interests, the State has more often crippled the zeal of the rural masses and maintained them in a state of serfdom. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the Government pursued a policy which was not only unsympathetic to these Unions but definitely harmful. In 1926 the Government of India passed the Factory Act but it took care not to extend it to agriculture and the I.L.O.'s feeble attempt to control forced labour was frustrated by the Central Government. In 1928 the Royal Agricultural Commission recommended economic protection to agricultural workers which never materialized. In 1929 the Whitley Commission on Labour completely ignored the rights of agricultural workers for protection through State intervention. In 1931 the Third I.L. Conference considered the adoption of the Washington Draft Convention on agricultural labourers but received no encouragement from the Government of India, and since 1935 the efforts of Mr. Ranga have been abortive because neither the Government nor the legislators have realized the importance of protecting the rights and interests of the rural community.

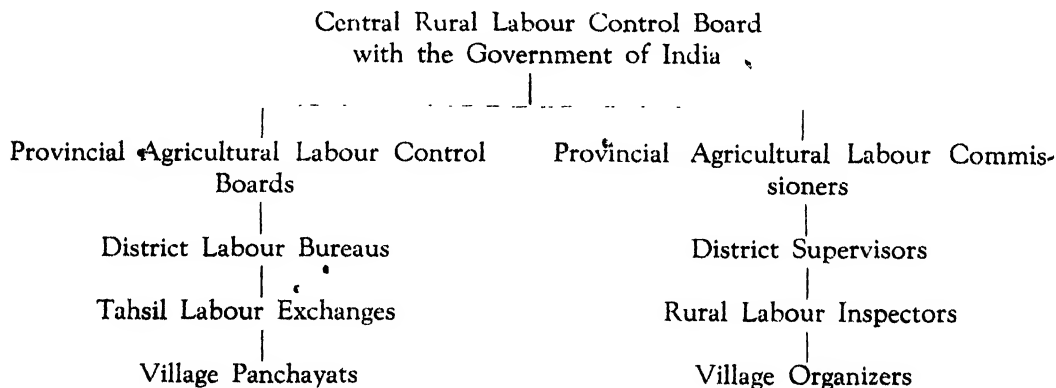
It seems that the period of passive participation of the peasant class is over, and the rural masses have now arisen to the necessity of self-determination. The agricultural classes have come to realize

that they will have to take an active part in national politics and play the game with the same technique as the urban groups. The aggressive and socialist character of rural uprisings are evident everywhere in India. They have burst forth like thunderstorms from excessive suffering and the impossibility of bearing the existing conditions any longer. The attack is directed against the zamindars, and they are ready to sacrifice all other interests in life in order to gain freedom from economic serfdom.

There is, therefore, the need for the re-orientation of the policy of the State. The existence of many organizations among the rural classes is a manifestation of the realization of the agriculturists that it is not only in material interests but also in mentality and conceptions of life that they should organize like their industrial

confreres. The cold attitude of the Government should be transformed into a warm support and co-operation in the name of national well-being and welfare. The immediate task before the Central Government is the establishment of a Central Rural Labour Control Board, co-ordination of the work of this department with the Rural Development and the Co-operative Departments ; an active co-operation with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the Industrial Labour Control Board ; and the appointment of a Royal Commission on Agricultural Labour, which is now over-due, because socio-economic planning in the field of labour cannot be done without the aid of expert opinion.

A provisional scheme for the establishment of the Rural Labour Department has been drawn up as follows :—



The village organizers should be appointed by the Panchayats and their duties should be to organize agricultural workers into Sabhas and present their grievances to Tahsil and District Sabhas. The Tahsil and District Labour Exchanges and Bureaus should be controlled by their respective Sabhas and supervised by Rural Labour Inspectors and District Supervisors. Their most important function would be to distribute surplus labour power from one

region to another where the supply is short, and report cases of abuse by the employers to the District Sabhas for necessary action. The Provincial Boards should be under the Rural Labour Commissioners and controlled by the Provincial Sabhas. Their function should be to co-ordinate the work of Tahsil and District Sabhas and recommend to the Government to pass such legislation and enforce such laws as are most urgent and in the best

interests of the Province. The whole machinery of Rural Labour Organization should be under the Control of the Central Rural Labour Control Board with the Government of India, which would look to the interests of the agricultural labourers both from the national and international points of view. The Provincial Governments should be required to defray the preliminary expenses for the establishment of these departments and pay the salaries of Labour Officers, while the Panchayats and respective Sabhas should meet the maintenance charges.

The State should not only recognize the importance of the Rural Labour Organizations but render every possible aid by revising land and tariff policies, imparting technical education, giving legislative protection, and rendering financial

assistance, technical aid and expert advice.

The agrarian movement in India is not only an expression of a unique political movement but also of a national movement that is tending wholly to regenerate the community and cultural life around the institution of land. Its political task is to open the way to new cultural aspirations, and to guide the nation toward the path that leads to the realization of the magnificent ideals of the future which now appear to be surrounded by insurmountable obstacles. The success of the Agrarian movement in India will depend on how far the resources of the Government and the community can be patiently mobilized, and to what extent the State is willing to recognize and satisfy the urgent demands of the rural proletariat.

SOME PATHOLOGICAL AND CRIMINAL RESULTS OF ALCOHOLISM

ANJILVEL MATHEW

The deleterious effects of alcohol have raised the problem of liquor control to the rank of a question of foremost political and social importance. Drunkenness is no doubt the cause of many crimes and the accompaniment of many others. The author has discussed briefly some of the physical, mental and moral ravages of this form of social evil and draws special attention to the urgent need for a national solution of the social waste of wealth and human life caused by it.

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It is claimed that a small quantity of alcohol gives easy movement to the motor mechanism of the body, fluency of speech, rapidity of associations and penetration of insight. To a certain extent, this is true; and the result is due to the fact that alcohol removes inhibition.

Inhibition Removed.—When we are our natural, sane selves we do not allow ourselves to do or speak or even to think all those things that happen to await admission into the field of our thought and action. A genius is one in whom the inhibitions are not as operative as in ordinary people in those spheres of life in which he happens to be a genius. Want of inhibition alone does not go to make a genius; nevertheless freedom from conventional ways of looking at the internal and external world is one of the sure traits of genius. An insane person also sometimes says very true and relevant things in a way that a sane person does not; this is because he does not find himself bound by those restrictions which the majority of people impose on themselves. Similarly a certain amount of freedom from inhibition, afforded by small doses of alcohol, is often helpful, as we have seen already, to the expansiveness of personality in that shy people under its influence shed some of their shyness and reserved people get into a mood of

communicativeness. But this expansiveness and freedom from inhibition might lead to most undesirable consequences, some of which are graphically pictured in a description given by a Secretary of the Army Y.M.C.A., Saigon, French Indo-China. He refers to the order of things that prevailed in a Y.M.C.A. Hut that was mostly meant for British and French soldiers: "The secretary had more than once to confiscate bottles of liquor, or disarm someoneBy the way, if you are attacked by a belligerent drunk, don't let him make a frontal attack, but step aside and give him a good push from the side. As his balancing apparatus is off duty, he will fall down. Then you sit on him till he calms down or help arrives. This is not so funny when it is happening; but some of their performances are, as when a BOR happily poured a cupful of coffee down his rifle barrel, all the while chuckling like the small boy he was at the moment, or when a British sailor insisted on standing up and singing a sea ditty at our Christmas song service. In fact, the Secretary got tired of playing M.P. and closed down for ten nights until Military Police were posted at the Y."*

Alcoholism—Physiological Results.—Some people try to justify their alcoholic habit with the observation that alcohol enables them to bear the extremes of cli-

* C. H. Lochlin: *Why the Y?*—The Young India, Calcutta: Aug. 1946,

mate. They may be answered in Lombroso's words that "alcohol, so far from rendering extreme temperatures more tolerable, increases the danger from great heat and cold alike, so that in the polar regions and in India soldiers and sailors, thinking to acquire greater resistance to fatigue by the use of alcoholic beverages, simply aggravate their condition."* He contends that continued use of alcohol leads to the degeneration of the system; affects the brain, spinal cord and ganglia as well as the liver and kidneys; and brings about such diseases as jaundice and uremia. Lombroso's strong views on the evil of the excessive use of alcohol have been shared by medical opinion generally. For instance, Dr. W. B. Drummond, in *Dent's New Medical Dictionary*, not only holds the view to be fallacious that alcohol keeps out cold but believes that on the contrary it "lets out" heat by flushing the skin with blood. He refers to the fact that on all recent Arctic expeditions the use of alcohol has been forbidden within the Arctic Circle. As for the common opinion that alcohol removes fatigue, he says that though it may remove the feelings of fatigue, in reality it diminishes working power. "Many experiments upon the influence of alcohol on work illustrate the deceptive character of the feeling produced by alcohol. For example, some compositors were found to set a smaller number of letters on mornings on which a small quantity of alcohol was taken than on the mornings when no alcohol was taken. The men themselves thought they were working faster, though the decrease in the quantity of work done amounted to about 10 per cent. According to Admiral Jellicoe, the accuracy of gunfire in the navy is reduced 30 per cent after the rum

ration."† Inaccuracy in performance, brought about through alcohol has disastrous effects on those who have to execute delicate movements and to use fine discrimination and judgment. Their own lives and the lives of those entrusted to them may be lost through the occurrence of little mistakes. For this reason during World War II it was frequently advocated, but not with success, that members of the air force should be prevented from taking any kind of intoxicants while they were in the air or a few hours before they began to fly. The reason that was rightly put forward was that vision is likely to be blurred and motor control likely to be less complete when one takes even what is generally regarded as a moderate quantity of liquor—for alcohol even in small quantities affects the nervous system.

Continued use of alcohol may result in a number of pathological conditions of the physiological system. Most frequently found are fatty degenerations of the heart and liver. The digestive system is often deteriorated, and gastric trouble arises with complaints of nausea and constipation. There may also occur "disease of the kidney, dilation of the small blood vessels in the skin and elsewhere, and degenerative changes in the arteries‡." In the words of another medical man, among the obvious results of chronic alcoholism should be included "tremor of the fingers and occasionally muscle twitchings, and in the advanced cases, ataxia (inability to regulate voluntary movements). The pupils may react sluggishly to light and accommodation. Rare is alcoholic optic atrophy and paralysis of eye muscles, the deep reflexes are frequently increased, rarely decreased or absent. These neurological symptoms may present the picture of a

* Lombroso: *Crime: The Causes and Remedies*: p. 88.

† W. B. Drummond: *Dent's Medical Dictionary*—Section on Alcohol. Dent and Sons, London.

‡ Ibid: p. 15.

tabes (wasting disease) or tabo-paralysis. Disturbances of sensibility and neuritis are frequent."* Irritability of temper and sleeplessness are common complaints, though one is not sure whether these may best be called physiological consequences of the drink or psychological.

Psychological Consequences.—Turning now to the definitely psychological consequences of alcoholism, we find that it interferes with the normal functioning of personality. First of all it interferes with the lucidity of one's memory and the accuracy of the details recalled. Fact and fiction, events and the mental reactions of the events concerned, are mixed up when under alcoholic influence a person tries to recall the past. In the early stages of intoxication or in its mild states, a person may be very affable and communicative and may amuse if not please others by sharing with them his hopes and expectations regarding the future, and his reasons for his failures in the past. Soon after, he may become irritated if he meets with even small dissatisfactions or if he imagines that some one tries to take liberties with him. If alcoholism becomes a settled habit, one grows (imperceptibly at first but definitely in course of time) slack in his work ; and gradually he takes his own self for granted and grows indifferent to the ambitions he had cherished in the past. Deterioration in the personality of the alcoholic is slow but inevitable. Alcohol impairs his critical judgment, accuracy and efficiency, though he himself thinks, on account of his diminished capacity for self-criticism, that his efficiency is heightened. As he persists in his indulgence his memory gets blurred, his moral sense gets blunted, and his ability to exercise self-restraint is so much diminished that

he becomes incapable of controlling his own impulses and fancies. He loses much of his self-respect and grows indifferent to the impression created by him on others through his manner of living, his mode of work, and the scanty attention he gives to neatness of dress, care of his body and his personal appearance in general. William Healy, following the lead of a number of German and English authorities in the field, summarises the situation with the observation that all inebriates show in greater or less degree the following peculiarities : incapacity to bear physical or mental pain, defective moral sense, defective sense of responsibility, intolerance or tolerance of alcohol beyond the normal, defective realization of abnormalities even when the individual is sober, defective inhibitions for meeting desires and impulses, and defective mental equilibrium, shown in deficient powers of concentration of attention and in abnormal emotionalism†. These are marks of disintegration of personality, and in this progressive state of deterioration we find an increasing readiness on the part of the person to suffer from 'hallucinations of images and from persecutorial delusions. He becomes suspicious, jealous and ready to think that any misfortune that may fall upon him through his own carelessness or inefficiency is due to the machinations of others. Sufferers from this weakened mental condition project the causes of their misfortune on others and readily take offence.

How Alcoholism leads to Crime.—Readiness to impute evil and mischievous motives to others and to take offence lands the alcoholic in grave difficulties, in that it leads to crime. Most of those who have worked on criminal statistics in England think that 70 per cent of all offences in

* Oskar Diethelm: *Treatment in Psychiatry*: Ch. XVII, p. 441, Macmillan, N. Y. 1936.

† William Healy: *The Individual Delinquent*, Bk., II, Ch. XXII, p. 681.

the country are associated with alcoholism ; and some there are who put the percentage even much higher. As a matter of fact it is very difficult to get correct figures of offences associated with drunkenness—for drunkenness as an offence is not recorded when it accompanies any other offence. The offences associated with alcoholism are of various kinds. First of all, alcoholism leads to a number of petty offences, offences against civic and traffic regulations. Many offenders of this category are hauled up by the police before magistrates who dismiss them with small fines. Drink lowers people's earning capacity, and in course of time many habitual alcoholists lose their jobs. From here it is an easy step to vagrancy and petty thefts. They take recourse to stealing to get food and not rarely to get their accustomed drink. Then there are offences of a violent nature—assault and other forms of anti-social conduct. This is due to the fact that as the process of intoxication develops, judgment and self-control becomes less and less effective, with the result that a person under the influence of strong drink is inclined to express himself in words and actions in an uninhibited manner. In this condition of reduced self-control he may say or do things which might irritate others and lead them to retaliate. He himself is inclined to be violent, and his violent attitude calls forth violence on the part of others. In advanced stages of drunkenness a person becomes incapable of looking after himself. "He sometimes lies in the street unconscious, and his helplessness," as Dr. G. M. Scott says, "leads frequently to the commission of crimes on the part of others. Thefts are particularly numerous, and the victim is left without a penny in his pocket. It is by no means uncommon for violence to be added if the victim, under rough

handling, begins any form of resistance. It is often difficult to discover whether the injuries which some of these cases present are due to falls or to violence inflicted by others. As a rule no recollection of such injuries is preserved and the person may be attended to and may have his cuts stitched without becoming aware of it."*

On the other hand, there are people who deliberately use alcohol to strengthen an already existing incentive to crime. Some take it to steel their hearts against any compunction that they might feel against their wicked designs. They know that they are divided selves ; one half of their mind incites them to do the wrong thing contemplated, while the other part, which in Freudian language we may call their super-ego, raises a "still small voice" of protest, pointing out to the self that the contemplated action violates human solidarity and is therefore unbecoming for the self to undertake. Every individual has this altruistic self within him to a certain extent, though in some it is stronger than in others. Those who want to do some base or squalid piece of anti-social work are afraid that at the last moment their suppressed moral sense might rise in revolt against their unapproved passion, and in order that this possibility may be prevented they fortify their lower self with alcohol. As in the case with all soporifics, alcohol also first incapacitates the latest acquired human characteristics. Among these late acquisitions of the *homo sapiens*, those which mark him as a self-respecting human personality, are his sense of discrimination, reasoning, and ethical judgment ; and when a man drinks excessively these are the qualities that first leave him.

Inciters and Accomplices.—Those who

* G. M. Scott: *Alcoholism and Criminal Behaviour*, in Radziewicz and Turner (Eds.) *Mental Abnormality and Crime*, Macmillan, London, 1944.

drink to stifle their better sense in pursuit of some nefarious purpose thus deliberately lower their moral standard and sink down to a level of animal fury and impetuosity of wild passions. This is despicable ; but still more so is the fact that there are unprincipled people who do not only degrade themselves with evil motives and purposes, but also lead some of their neighbours to forget their moral standards. Here we have in mind not those people who drink and incline others to drink with them in a drink-shop where the inmates incite one another to lead reckless lives and sometimes hatch out 'common criminal enterprise.' In this case all of them more or less equally share the criminal motive. What we think of here are those master-criminals who stay in the back-ground and lead foolish accomplices into crime through the means of alcohol. They direct their pliable agents to do terrible deeds for their own profit, and are afraid that, in spite of the willingness of their employees to comply with their purposes, they may nevertheless relent at the critical moment. In order that this possibility may be avoided, they reduce the hired men as much as possible to the level of animals in their reactions. Something of their human skill and enterprise remains in them, but so far as their moral scruples are concerned they are rendered "safe" for their masters' purpose. The association of alcohol with crime are thus of these three kinds : there are those who drink and forget themselves and do rash things which they had not intended to do and which when they come back to their senses they regret having done ; there are those who drink in order that they may not be altered from an evil deed they have set their minds upon by any moral scruples on their own part ; and there are those who become pliant

instruments in the hands of more wicked people who know the devastating effect of alcohol on the moral sense of others and ruthlessly exploit it to further their own wicked designs.

Lombroso refers to statistics prepared by a number of continental investigators, Baer, Marambat, Marro and others in regard to the classifications of crimes. The first-named found in the case of the inmates of penitentiaries and jails in Germany that "alcoholism occurred oftentimes in the case of those charged with assaults, sexual offences, and insurrections. Next came assassination and homicide ; and in the last rank those imprisoned for arson and theft, that is to say crimes against property. The minimum occurs in the case of forgery and swindling, and with reason, for, as several swindlers said, "it takes a clear head to carry out a shrewd scheme". Marambat found that of 3,000 convicted persons investigated by him 88% of the crimes against persons and 77% of the crimes against property were committed by alcoholics. Basing his view on these and several other investigators, Lombroso would say, "in general, that the serious offences especially the infliction of bodily injuries and crimes against property are those in which the influence of alcoholism makes itself more decidedly felt, but that its action is less evident in the latter class of cases than in the former."*

Alcoholism and Suicide.—It not rarely happens that a man's impulsive violence may be turned upon himself. Freud in his later works thought that all instincts of man can be brought together under two major heads : the instincts of sex and the instincts of death. While sex instincts are creative, death instincts, "work in the opposite direction, by virtue of which

* Lombroso : *Crime : Its Causes and Remedies*, Part I, Ch. VII, p. 96 f. Heinemann, London, 1911.

not only is a person driven to attack and destroy whatever stands in his way of satisfaction but is himself constantly thinking of his own end wishing as it were to close down the show and re-enter, as Freud puts it, the comfortable position of snug carelessness in the mother's womb. But no man can do it, and therefore each person wishes to have his toils and worries ended in the only other way possible—of finding rest and perpetual peace in the uterus of mother earth, the grave.* Nowhere do we find a better illustration of Freud's principle that "the goal of all life is death",† than in the study of the alcoholics. Dr. Norwood East, while he was a prison Medical Officer at the Brixton Prison, studied from April 1907 to December 1910 a thousand consecutive cases of attempted suicide in the city of London and the counties of Middlesex and Surrey. The causes that lead to the attempts at suicide were classified and it was found that alcoholism headed the list. Other causes also were there such as domestic troubles, business worries, weak-mindedness, neurasthenia, epilepsy and insanity, but none of them accounted for so many suicidal attempts as alcoholism—not even unemployment and destitution, which accounted for the second largest number of attempts. The alcoholic cases came to 393 out of the total 1000 studies and included: 33 cases of alcoholic insanity, 16 with weak-mindedness, 141 impulsive without memory of the attempt, 171 impulsive with memory retained, 31 post-alcoholic depression, and 1 an alcoholic accident. In this list the cases of pure post-alcoholic depression are only 31, but the impulsive cases—both those with memory retained and without memory—should also, I believe, be regarded as

examples of depression, as even the ostentatious exhilaration with which a man tries to cut his own throat or jump from a height is a camouflage which covers his defeatism in life. When he is under the influence of strong drink, the despair of life and the desire to end it comes into the open uninhibited, and he tries to kill himself. It is not the ingestion of alcohol in itself that causes suicidal attempts; other factors that have been in existence for a long time come into the open with new strength under its pernicious influence, and together they tend to lead a person to self-destruction. It may very well be that he is not conscious of the existence of such suicidal purposes within him. Modern psychology with its search-light thrown on man's obscure or hidden motives has proved beyond dispute the existence of motive forces within him regarding which he may have little awareness. Again it may happen, as it often happens, that a man does not remember what he did sometime previously. This too does not disprove the existence of unconscious motive forces working within him. As a matter of fact, suicidal attempts made in a drunken state are not always properly remembered after the event. Sometimes the memory of what he did is with him in a vague hazy manner; and sometimes there is complete amnesia of all that happened—there is no recall on his part of what he did or of what was done to him. Whether there is or is not any memory of what happened, such suicidal attempts indicate an unhealthy mind, a mind that was either never completely integrated or one in which deterioration has evidently taken place.

Alcoholism and Pathological Mental Conditions.—Deterioration of the mind may take, in serious cases, different forms of psychosis. One well-recognized form is that

* Anjilvel Mathew: *Depth, Psychology and Education*, Ch. XIV, p. 300, 1944.

† Freud: *Beyond the Pleasure Principles*, Ch. V., p. 47.

known as *delirium tremens*. It usually occurs in the case of chronic alcoholists. The attack takes place after a prolonged period of excessive drinking and is occasioned by some illness, accident or some other shock*. As *Dent's New Medication Dictionary* puts it: "The first symptoms are usually loss of appetite, restlessness, and disturbed sleep. After a day or two the delirium sets in. It is a busy delirium. The patient talks incessantly to those about him or to imaginary persons. He is constantly getting out of bed or walks about trying to do things. His tongue is furred, his movements tremulous, his temperature somewhat feverish. Hallucinations develop, and he imagines he sees dogs, rats, mice, or beetles running about the room, or that he hears voices talking or threatening. The hallucinations may be of a terrifying character; hence the popular name of the "horrors" given to the disease. After three or four days the symptoms usually subside, but some cases end fatally."†

A number of other forms of psychosis are also associated with alcoholism. One is called Korassakow's psychosis—a disorder characterized by loss of memory and dis-orientation. Again, alcoholic psychosis may take the form of delusions of jealousy; and sometimes there are delusions of persecution whether they take the form of acute alcoholic paranoia or chronic paranoid insanity. In some cases anxiety-neurosis occurs as the result of alcohol; and in some, alcoholic epilepsy. Possibly more common and less spectacular in its outset is what Hamblin Smith calls alcoholic feeble-mindedness, which, however, is more usually and more correctly called a gradual but progressive form of dementia. Feeble-

mindedness strictly refers to an innate, or at any rate an early, state of mental weakness which, as recognized by the English Mental Deficiency Acts of 1913 and 1927, is a condition of arrested or incomplete development of mind existing before the age of eighteen years, whether arising from inherent causes or induced by disease or injury. Feeble-minded people may not be so bad in mental equipment as idiots and imbeciles, but their mental defect is yet so pronounced that they require care, supervision and control for their own protection or for the protection of others. The pity is that people who were not mental defectives until they attained their adulthood may so deteriorate in later years through chronic alcoholism that they cannot be trusted to be responsible for their own or other people's safety and protection.

Much of the description we have here given refers to the consequences of chronic alcoholism as distinct from acute alcoholism, though the difference between the two is not as clear-cut as the terms may suggest. For instance take *delirium tremens*, it is regarded as a malady that occurs in the life of a chronic alcoholic; but really it follows the consumption of an unusually large amount of liquor. Suspicions of the motives of others and delusions of persecutions occur, other things being equal, more in the case of chronic alcoholics than that of people who have an occasional bout of heavy drinking. On the whole, however, it may be surmised that while violent forms of crimes are more correctly associated with occasional bouts of drinking (acute alcoholism we may call it, though crimes are not committed in the last stage of acute

* There is an opinion that *delirium tremens* may also take place in the case of those chronic drinkers whose supply of alcohol has suddenly been cut off. In spite of this possibility, psychiatrists, like Oskar Diethelm, are insistent that if cure from alcoholism should be effected there should be no relaxation of the rule of complete abstinence.

† W. B. Drummond: *Dent's Medical Dictionary*, (Art. on Alcohol).

alcoholism which is more a stage of stupor than of activity), the physical and mental deterioration that are associated with alcoholism occurs in the case of chronic alcoholics.

Alcoholic Psychosis in Adolescents.—Healy however talks of a form of psychotic drinking which he thinks is more a case of acute than of chronic alcoholism. This is what he calls 'alcoholic psychosis in adolescents'—which too is not the result of a single occasion of debaucherous drinking, but of drinking continued recklessly for a few days. As in the case of adult dispo-maniacs, in the case of the adolescents subject to repeated acute drinking, there takes place a complete disturbance of personality. Often in such cases one comes across, as Healy observes, complete impulsivity (which throws all prudence to the winds) and rapid alterations of the emotions. There is mental restlessness—confusion, excitement and irritability, and frequently also mild incoherency, inability to pay attention, and imperfect memory for recent events. "The effect upon conduct of these psychotic states may well be imagined. In young males we have had particular reason to note a tendency to extravagant violence, entirely prejudicial to their own interests, and in girls reckless abandon to sexual practices which were certainly not called out by any usual desires."*

Seneca, I am told, described 'drunkenness as "a voluntary madness." In the case of the girls referred to above, there takes place such an excess of indulgence in sex practices as might suggest the abeyance of sanity and of all sense of propriety. This surrender of their better self to sensual indulgences is voluntary

in the sense that no physical compulsion was used on them to force them to drink, though it cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of determinism in the situation in which they find themselves—often the force of suggestion and the persuasion of sometimes well-meaning, and oftentimes unscrupulous, "friends" confront young people with temptations which most of them find it very hard to resist. One of the peculiarities of the recent war (World War II) was the fact that women took a more active part in it than in any other previous war, a situation that was fraught with dangers of various kinds. This was recognized by leaders of religious organizations in Britain, such as the members of the Emergency Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. They recognized that the massing together of young women and girls along with men is inevitable under conditions of "the Total War" strategy involved in modern warfare; but they pleaded with the authorities concerned that the possibilities of danger in such close association of young women with men, living away from the restraining influences of their homes, may at least be minimized. With this end in view they suggested that a certain amount of control may be enforced on drinking facilities offered in such common centres of war activities† of young men and women.

The consequence of a little wine or beer upon an adolescent girl may be far-reaching. It may break down normal social and moral inhibitions. The effect is produced sometimes by premeditation of companions of either sex to lower the intended victim's level of behaviour. Healy refers to studies in social problems conducted by others as well as by himself

* Healy: *The Individual Delinquent*, Bk. II, Ch. XXII, p. 681, Heinemann, London, 1945.

† *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, July 1946—Article on "Liquor Policy of Great Britain—1939-40" by Dr. H. C. Mookerjee.

which establish the close connection between drinking in dance halls and saloons and the practice of prostitution. "In our own study of cases we have learned the facts over and over again, and they amount to just this ; there was a desire for company and pleasure on the part of the girl ; even in bad company there would be resistance to the many suggestive influences thrown about her, except for the directly decisive part played by a physio-psychological condition (brought about by the use of liquor to which she was unaccustomed). A feeling of not-caring possessed her, and the step was taken."*

Silly, insane things are sometimes done under the influence of drink by respectable old folk. In their case, the offence takes the form of sex assault on little girls ; and possibly a still more frequent kind of offence is exhibitionism. Sex offences associated with alcoholism in the case of men in their manhood strength are often of a violent nature.

Alcohol Works with early Dispositions.—Psychotic aberrations and stupid or reckless criminal acts which partake of the nature of insanity as well as of criminality are, as we have already seen, closely related to alcoholism. Nevertheless, in many cases, it is not the consumption of alcohol by itself that brings about these mental troubles. Not rarely, there was a pre-disposition in the mental make-up of the person, some constitutional weakness or imbalance which inclined him to react to life's experiences in not quite a normal way. Possibly this weakness or tendency to rather abnormal behaviour would have passed unnoticed by others if things had gone well with him, that is to say, if he was not exposed frequently and repeatedly to trying life situations. But things unfortunately do

not always go well with all people. Some people seem to be exposed to life's trials repeatedly, as though a relentless fate had been doggedly pursuing them to their ruin. Even casual observers think that these their neighbours are particularly unhappy to have these repeated disasters occurring in their life. The sufferers themselves feel the poignancy of their suffering most bitterly. Under such hard circumstances, the mental poise and emotional equanimity of even those who started life without any special constitutional handicap is likely to be affected. Much greater is the risk to the mental balance of those unfortunate people who happened to start life with not quite the normal amount of temperamental and nervous strength and balance. These feel the blows that fall on them harder than those who started life as normally stable individuals. At the same time even those who are naturally inclined to be unsteady do not want to give up the struggle without an effort—and they try to enlist to their help whatever external means they can command, and one of the means they can think of is the consumption of drugs of various kinds, which, they hope, would steady them—at least would give them a sense of relief or escape. But to rely for support on drugs, such as alcohol (or morphine or cocaine or hashish), is to rely on means that are really unreliable ; it is, to use the words of an eminent prophet of ancient Israel in another context, "to trust upon the staff of a bruised reed whereon if a man lean it will go into his hand and pierce it."† This is what liquor does ; it may give temporary escape from the feeling of an intolerable situation, but it undermines, as we have already seen in some detail, even the little temperamental and emotional equilibrium with which a man sets out on his journey of life. Many people

* Healy : *Individual Delinquent*: Bk. II, Ch. V., pp. 267—68.

† Isaiah : 36 : 6.

who get mentally disordered through drink are those in whom there is a predisposition towards psychotic troubles. What liquor does is to accelerate their downward trend which they would even otherwise have taken, had they been obliged to continually face over-whelming life-situations.

•Allowing all this margin for a pre-existing tendency to personal disintegration, there are still a few cases in which the alcohol habit should be regarded as the primary cause of psychotic troubles. Though in many cases this habit is a symptom and precipitating cause of mental trouble, there are undoubtedly a few cases, according to psychiatrists, in which it is more reasonable to think that it was not any constitutional weakness or psychological aberration as such but excessive consumption of alcohol that primarily paved their path to

mental hospitals. What actually is the proportion of these self-invited cases of insanity is not sure. While some there are who think that these cases amount to 12 or 16 per cent of the total admissions to mental hospitals, others put it even lower than half of this figure. For instance, G. M. Scott says that in 1,000 cases of mental disorder that he studied he found alcoholism associated in more than 100 cases ; in many of these cases, however, there were other factors also concerned in the etiology. Eliminating these cases of combined factors of origin, he records his experience that only about 4 per cent of his cases of insanity have been mainly due to alcoholism. Even this extremely modest figure proves that among a 1,000 cases of insane people, 40 make themselves unfit for life through a not-unavoidable, disastrous habit.

TEXTILE TRADE UNIONISM IN BOMBAY

P. D. KULKARNI

Trade Unionism has grown up alongside of industrial development. Everywhere men are realising a new spirit which refuses to be content with old conditions. The author, who has made a study of textile trade unionism in Bombay, describes in this stimulating article its origin, growth and present strength. The argument set forth is an original attempt to reveal the drawbacks in our trade union movement, which prevent it from playing an important part in lifting the worker from his low economic level and improving his working conditions.

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The tremendous wave of strikes that is sweeping over India, now, as it did after the First Great War, is once again focussing the attention of the public on trade unions. It is being realised, though gradually, that for good or bad trade unionism is going to play a very important role in the shaping of our national economy.

Considering its importance, it is rather tragic that the history of the Trade Union Movement in India is yet to be written, yet to be known! India has yet to find her Webbs who would undertake this vast and complicated subject of study. Want of clear, continuous and reliable trade union records in India, makes it still more difficult to obtain the required data. Moreover study of trade unionism is essentially a study in relationships; and because, social research has not developed, specially in India, to any appreciable extent, it is not possible to measure the degrees of consciousness, subtleties of attitudes and the nature of relationships with mathematical exactness or fool-proof objective standards. The present study, therefore, could not rise above the inevitable limitations.

Some fundamental principles of Trade Unionism can profitably be borne in mind while studying the Trade Union Movement in any country or industry. In their monu-

mental work Sydney and Beatrice Webb have defined a trade union as 'a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives.'* That was in 1894. But today Milne-Bailey's definition that a 'trade union is an institution having as its purpose the advancement of the vocational interest of its members' is perhaps more appropriate. By the vocational interests is meant their interests as persons following the specific vocation as distinct from their social, religious or political interests.

But it must be stated here that though an association of coal miners is a trade union, that of mine-owners cannot be. Their relation to the mine is neither vocational nor functional; it is only legal; i.e., of ownership. It must also be noted here that the labour interests which the trade unions are supposed to champion are not necessarily merely class interests of the proletariat or the 'victims of capitalism.' Otherwise one cannot reconcile the continued existence of trade unions in Soviet Russia which is supposed to have abolished capitalism and the economic classes.

A trade union as a separate organization is only a part of a large group. It is an association of persons but it is in itself a member of a still larger association which

* *History of Trade Unionism in England* by Sydney & Beatrice Webb, p. 1.

may be termed the Trade Union Movement, and Milne-Bailey observes that 'the International Trade Unionism is the super-group of which the trade union movement of any particular country forms only a part.'*

In origin, the trade unions in this country, even as in others, were spontaneous growths. They arose out of the common needs of the people for fellowship amongst craftsmen, for mutual aid, for improvement in the remuneration and the conditions of work, in short, for an increasing measure of control over the circumstances of daily work-life. There seems to be no historical continuity between the mediæval guilds and the modern trade unions, though psychologically and even biologically the idea of collective resistance to insecurity is the same. For a correct understanding of the methods, policies and programmes of different unions, they have been classified on two bases—functional and structural.

Functional Types.—The first recognizable functionable type is termed as a Business Union. It resorts to (collective) bargaining in the pure commercial sense of the word. They are not concerned with the ownership of the means of production nor do they aim at establishing any 'ism.' They just bargain for better conditions of work and still better terms of employment. The various clerks' unions, staff unions and professional associations belong to this type. Uplift Unions are friendly unions. They may be trade-conscious or broadly class-conscious, and at times may even claim to think and act in the interests of the society as a whole.

Revolutionary Unions are distinctly class-conscious and believe in class-struggle, and aim at finally establishing the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' They assert the

complete harmony of the interests of all wage-earners as against the owners, employers and their representatives. They tend to repudiate the existing order and mean to bring about revolution by precipitating class political action. Predatory Unions, finally, are known for their ruthless pursuit of the thing in hand by whatever means. They have two sub-types :—the Hold-up Unions and the Guerilla Unions. Both these types are practically unknown in India.

Structural Types.—The structural classification of trade unions is much simpler and is based on outward form, organization and the internal government. First came the Craft Unions which are associations of employees bound together by common employment, skill and interest in a relatively narrow occupation or a group of closely related occupations. The carpenters, the weavers, the smiths generally unite to form such unions. Secondly, there are the Industrial Unions composed of all workers in a particular industry regardless of crafts, occupations or degrees of skill. The Textile Trade Unions which are the subject of this article belong to this type. The broadest structural type of a labour organization is the Labour Union. Its membership is not confined to any single craft or industry but includes all wage earners of every description. It stresses the fundamental solidarity of the working class.

The structural and functional classification, discussed above, is neither rigid nor comprehensive. Types of unions can be formed and determined according to a common material used in allied trades such as wood, metal, etc., or according to the employment such as all railwaymen including all those of transport, workshop and offices. But it is worth noting here that

* *Trade Unions and State*, by Milne-Bailey.

certain structural types go with certain functional ones. Generally most of the craft unions are business types whereas the industrial or labour unions are revolutionary types. But unions can and do change both in structure and function as a response to the environmental stimuli.

Looked at from the point of view of social psychology the movement shows four stages of development. To begin with there is an emergence of an unfriendly environment. Then there is the consciousness of its hostile nature consequently resulting in discontent and, amongst the more aggressive, unrest. That naturally gives rise to disputes and strikes and collective bargaining starts. Thus begins the trade union movement.

Therefore to understand the trade union movement in India, specially in Bombay Textiles, the forces—international, national and industrial—which influenced it, demand more than a passing attention. Amongst the international forces there are three which stand out more prominently from the rest. They are the Russian Revolution, the International Labour Organization and the Textile Industry in Britain.

The Russian revolution and the communist ideology behind it was the one greatest single factor that has influenced the trade union leadership, and through them the movement in India, immensely. Actual and direct relations were established only when the Communist Party of India was attached to the Third International (Comintern). None can deny the importance of the part played by the Indian communists in awakening the Indian labour. Secondly, the annual conferences of the I.L.O. provided a good platform for ventilating the grievances of Indian labour, and it is on the strength of certain conventions ratified there that

the Government of India was forced to enact some permissive or protective labour legislation. These periodical conferences also offered a good chance for Indian leaders to contact the trade union leaders of other countries. Lastly, the textile industry of Lancashire and Manchester saw a great competitor in its Indian counterpart and therefore the British industrialists persuaded the Government of India to enact certain pieces of legislation which adversely affected the textile industry and consequently the Indian textile labour.

Industrial Background.—The first textile mill in India was erected at Fort Gloster in Calcutta in 1818. But the real development of textile industry, based on the modern joint stock principle, started in this country in 1851 when the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mills was established at Tardeo in Bombay by a Parsee gentleman, Mr. Davar. In the initial stages the industry was concentrated in Bombay owing to its advantageous geographical and climatic conditions. And even today out of 370 textile mills in India 223 are in the Bombay Presidency itself. From 1860 to 1865 progress was materially assisted by the wealth which accrued to Bombay commercial interests owing to the high prices at which Indian cotton was sold during the American Civil War. Another factor which contributed to the rapid growth of the industry was the establishment of a profitable yarn export trade with China. The first Swadeshi Movement also offered a fillip to the Indian textile industry in the years 1904 to 1907; and the boom of the First Great War proved a great boon for the industry.

Its development attracted thousands of workers from the rural areas. The typical factory conditions, and all the urban

problems they create, gradually prevailed. The Report of the British Trade Union Congress Delegation has recorded that the workers used to work for 14 to 16 hours and used to sleep in their respective departments. They were almost bought for the season and were treated like serfs. The level of wages was extremely low, not sufficient even for the barest needs of life. They were totally unprotected against the risks of sickness, accidents and death, the incidence of which was higher then. D. H. Buchanan in his book *The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India* observes that "between 1860 and 1890 there appears to have been very little increase in the real income of the Indian factory hands. Between 1890 and 1917 prices rose markedly and wages followed (though) with a lag for several years in spite of the war-time boom."

The Report of the Tariff Board Enquiry Committee giving a statement of the dividends accruing to the shareholders in textile industry mentions that "an examination of the balance sheets of the Bombay Mills shows that in 1920 thirty-three companies comprising 42 mills declared dividends of 40% and over ; of which 10 companies comprising 14 mills paid 100% and over and two mills paid over 200% ! Similarly, the souvenir booklet published on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Empress Mills Ltd., Nagpur, in 1927 proudly declared that in certain cases in war-time dividends as high as 365% were paid !

The contrast of the wretched conditions of the workers with the prosperous flourish of the shareholders needs no comment. The cost of living had increased to 54% and the wages were disproportionately low. To secure only 5% increase, workers had to strike 45 times in the latter half of 1917, and after 52 strikes in different

mills in the first half of 1918, they got only 15% increment.

Thus it is seen that in spite of the mounting profits being earned by the mill-owners, the workers had low wages, long hours of work, no protection against accidents and no housing in complex urban environment. It is these thousands living in such unfriendly environment that gradually became aware of the power of combination and collective bargaining. This is a very interesting history, and it dates back to 1884, one year before even the establishment of Indian National Congress. But its continuous history as an organized trade union movement begins only after the World War I.

To the hostile and complex industrial environment described above the workers gave spontaneous elemental responses by way of withdrawing their labour collectively, that is, concerted action in the form of strikes. The first recorded strike was in 1877 in Empress Mills Ltd. at Nagpur, over wage rates. Between 1882 and 1890 twenty-five strikes were recorded in Bombay and Madras Presidencies although there were no unions or even temporary strike committees. The first recorded claim of collective representation of the workers was in 1884. That is why, conventionally, 1884 is supposed to be the beginning of trade unionism in India. In that year a conference of Bombay millworkers was convened in the City by two leaders—Narayan Meghaji Lokhande and Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee, who represented the workers and demanded reduction in working hours and a weekly holiday. In 1890 a union known as the Bombay Mill-hands Association was organized by Mr. Lokhande. But this was a loose combination rather than a corporate body as it had neither a definite constitution nor a paying membership. Actually the first

regular trade union in India, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma, came into existence in 1897. It was registered under the Indian Companies Act. But this Union has played little part in the Indian Trade Union Movement, as its membership was limited to the upper ranks of Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Early in this century some isolated unions were started in several places, such as the Printers' Union in Calcutta in 1905 and the Postal Union in Bombay in 1907. A friendly Uplift Association was started in Bombay in 1910 under the title of Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha (Workers Welfare Association). Between 1905 and 1910 there was a notable advance in labour movement parallel to the militant national wave. The highest peak was reached when the workers went on a spontaneous voluntary six-day strike as a protest against the sentence of six year's imprisonment on Tilak in 1908. Yet, except some isolated unions outside the textile industry and some humanitarian welfare societies, there were no organized trade unions. Some temporary strike committees began to appear in the war-time period—1914-18.

As has already been mentioned, the cost of living had risen 54% above the pre-war level, but the wages were the same though the dividends were mounting high. Strange as it may seem, workers had to resort in 1917-18 to no less than 97 strikes in different mills in Bombay just for 20% rise in wages.

The cost of living yet being 34 to 39% higher on the 27th December, 1918, there was a strike in one mill in Bombay and on 11th January, 1919 there was a general strike in all the mills. It continued for eleven long days when at last 35% increase was granted. This wave of strikes reached

its peak on 2nd of January, 1920 when a general strike in Bombay was organized by workers themselves which lasted for one full month. This time the demands were reduction in working hours from 12 to 10, annually one month holiday with pay and increment in wages proportionate to the cost of living. The memorandum putting forward these demands was drafted in a general meeting held in December 1919 in which workers of 75 mills were represented. On the 3rd of February, 1920 the till then largest and the widest general strike in Bombay textiles ended with the granting of 55% rise in wages.

All these strikes were organized by the workers themselves. The war-time struggle had taught the workers a lesson. Therefore, only when the frequency of war-time strikes became almost a continuity, did some strike-committees think of becoming permanent regular trade unions. Moreover, the necessity of having permanent unions was more keenly felt by some, for a central body, which could send workers' representatives as delegates to the periodical conferences of the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations which had come into being at this time, was considered for the essential purpose.

Therefore, in the post-war wave of labour unrest, the Textile Labour Union (founded by Mr. B. P. Wadia) at Madras, Clerks' and Postmens' Unions at Bombay and Seamens' Union at Calcutta were formed. The All India Trade Union Congress (a central federation) was established in 1919. Its first session was held in Bombay under the presidentship of the political leader Lala Lajpatrai.

The A.I.T.U.C. has had a very chequered history. For 10 years it served

as a national platform for organized labour in India, and was the only body chosen to represent the interests of Indian labour in national and international matters. But at its tenth session held at Nagpur on the 30th November, 1929, a split occurred. Resolutions on boycott of the Royal Commission on Labour in India and on the severance of connection with the I.L.O. were adopted. The affiliated unions opposing these resolutions seceded and thereafter founded the Indian Trades Union Federation (I.T.U.F.).

The longest general strike in Bombay textiles in 1928-29 also gave rise to further differences and thus was responsible for one more split between the communists and non-communists at the eleventh session at Calcutta in July 1931, the seceding section later forming the Red Trade Union Congress. But happily at the fourteenth session at Calcutta in 1935 an agreement was reached between the Red Trade Union Congress and the A.I.T.U.C. on the fundamental principle of trade union unity. But the Indian Trades Union Federation which was formed in 1929 yet remained separate. It had a membership of 82,000 with 23 affiliated unions. At the end of 1929, there were 87 unions claiming membership. Of these 38 with 90,000 membership were registered in Bombay Presidency, whereas 60 unions from all over India joined the A.I.T.U.C. in the very year of its inception and 42 others showed willingness to join. By 1924 the affiliating membership was 5,000; by 1927 it rose to 97,000 and in 1929 it shot up to 190,000. In 1933 the I.T.U.F. amalgamated itself with another central organization, the National Federation of Labour, taking up the new name of National Trades Union Federation (N.T.U.F.). In 1936 Mr. V. V. Giri (now Minister for Labour in the Congress Ministry at Madras)

submitted compromise proposals to the A.I.T.U.C. and the N.T.U.F. and, as a result, in 1938 at Nagpur the amalgamation took place.

But today the Indian Federation of Labour, another all-India labour organization, founded and led by Mr. M. N. Roy is competing with the A.I.T.U.C. This was organized during the World War II to keep up the morale of labour to produce more and thus help to defeat the fascist enemy. The I.F.L. had therefore the blessings of the Government of India and was receiving Rs. 13,000 per mensem. In spite of its being an infant organization, it enjoyed alternate or 50/50 representation in all the International Labour Conferences that have been held during the last one year, the reason being that the government was unable to decide during wartime the relative representative values of both of these organizations. Recently, Mr. S. C. Joshi, the Chief Labour Commissioner, who was appointed to find out the truth in the matter reported against the I.F.L.

It is against this background of the history of All-India Central and Federal Labour Organizations that the history of the Bombay Textile Labour Unionism must be studied. And it is interesting to note that right from 1887 to 1946 the Bombay textile labour and its leadership has been playing a very important role in the All-India Trade Union Movement. Actually it is no exaggeration to say that the Bombay textiles have been the pioneers, the leaders and the very main-stay of the trade union movement in India.

Position of Bombay Textile Trade Unions.—The working population of a cosmopolitan city like Bombay lacked that homogeneous character which is

wanted for any collective action. The Trade Unions in America experienced the same difficulty at the beginning but today that has been remarkably overcome. The provincial and communal differences therefore should not be a permanent difficulty in India. Secondly, as most of the workers keep their attachments with the villages, that stability, which is so essential for a healthy growth of Trade Unionism, was, and still is, to a great extent lacking in the industrial cities of India including Bombay. Therefore it has not been easy to organize regular fighting trade unions out of humanitarian associations or ephemeral strike committees. The two labour associations which existed before 1919 were the Bombay Millhands' Association and the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha (1910). The first real textile trade union organized in 1919 was the Girni Kamgar Sangh. But there was no legal recognition for any such unions.

Union members and officials were liable for breach of contract (under the ordinary civil law of the land) and restraints of trade. The one argument among many others which the employers used effectively was that of "outsiders" being in the unions which in the nature of the case was not only unavoidable but necessary, because it is axiomatic that the right to collective bargaining means also the right to representation. And it is but fair that the representative of the negotiating party must have an independent status. If he also were an employee of the employer concerned he could be easily influenced. It has, therefore, been recognised all the world over that the labour representatives must be non-employees. What hand they should have in directing and determining the policy, programme and the methods of the union is, however, a separate matter. Democratically, these rights must be vested in the workers in the trade.

In spite of all these difficulties, workers were undaunted, and in the absence of strong unions a resort to frequent lightning strikes was the only sanction they could think of to support their demands. But in spite of the fall of the cost of living index from 183 in 1920 to 173 in 1921 and to 164 in 1922, the workers were not satisfied with their wages. The wages were in fact 30% above the dearthness level. Therefore, 72% of the strikes declared in 1922 were failures as against 54% in 1921. 278 strikes were recorded for the whole year (1922) and the total number of workpeople involved was 4,35,434 as against 6,00,351 in 1921. In January 1924 there was again a general strike in Bombay Textiles because the employers, due to fallen prices, were either unwilling or unable to pay the annual bonus. It ended on 25th of March after the Macleod Committee disapproved of the workers' demand. Over 1,60,000 operatives were involved and the working days lost were about 8 millions ! Though no strong union conducted the strike, it was peaceful. In 1925 the Cotton Textile Industry was passing through a crisis of depression and therefore the dearthness allowance was reduced by 20%. Thereupon Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas appealed to the Viceroy to suspend the cotton excise duty. Meanwhile the workers went on strike which was called off only in December, when the cuts were restored on the suspension of the excise duty. Till the 2nd of October all the mills were closed, about 1,51,986 workers were involved and 11,000,000 work-days were lost. This time the strike was accompanied by some violence also.

The Trade Unions Act came into being in 1926, and immediately unions began to be formed with some sense of security. The Girni Kamgar Sangh (Mill Workers Union), which was formed in 1919, changed

its name to Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (Mill Workers' Congress). In January 1926, Messrs. N. M. Joshi and R. R. Bakhale of the Servants of India Society started the Textile Labour Union with Mr. S. K. Bole of the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha as its Vice-President. The Bombay Millworkers' Union was established in March 1926 by Mr. S. H. Jhabwala with the co-operation of communist leaders like Mr. Dange and others. Any student of Trade Unionism is at a loss to understand the formation of so many trade unions in one industry in one area, unless he takes into consideration political and personal differences of the leaders. And of course it is difficult to justify the formation of so many unions in one industry at a place on those bases because it upsets the very vitals of trade unionism—'strength in unity.'

While the unions appeared on the scene, fresh trouble was also brewing. According to the recommendations of the Textile Tariff Board, the millowners in Bombay were thinking of introducing some new systems of work. This was disliked by the workers but there was a split amongst the unions on taking a joint step in the form of a general strike. The radicals amongst the union leaders, however, went ahead with their call for a general strike. The strike started on the 16th of April, 1928, with the Currimbhoy group of mills and spread throughout all the factories except the 'Colaba Land' and the 'Wadia.' The Fawcett Committee was appointed to investigate into the matter, but even while it sat there were about 70 strikes in the city. The committee gave their verdict mainly in favour of millowners saying that the new schemes were reasonable but recommended that the wage-rates, etc., should be fixed up in consultation with the union leaders. The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union insisted on the investigation of some grievances

before they could think of considering the recommendations. Agreement, however, on the methods of finding out the truth in cases of victimization could not be reached. Therefore the union gave a call, once more, for a general strike on 26th of April, 1929. But as the sober Bombay Textile Labour Union refused to co-operate in the strike, it was not on the same large scale as it was in 1928. Yet again, according to the Indian Trade Disputes Act, 1929, the Pearson Committee was appointed to enquire into the matter. The Committee blamed the Girni Kamgar Union leaders for making inflammatory appeals to the workers, picketing and intimidation by strikers, and condemned the acts of violence committed on the non-strikers. Thus the 1929 strike proved an apparent failure, and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, which had built up its strength, completely broke down; its membership of about 50,000 dropping down to a bare hundred or so. In 1931 the Kandalkar-Deshpande controversy about the *bona fides* of representation was carried over to the A.I.T.U.C. Session at Calcutta and as a result a split came about even in the central body and the Red Trade Union Congress was formed.

As if this was not enough, various other labour associations were still cropping up. The Bombay Workers' Union, the Bombay Parsee Textile League, the Young Workers' Association are all the product of this period of intense trade union activity whose contribution in strengthening labour is of doubtful value. The Royal Commission on Labour in their report dealing with this subject observe: "At the bottom of the scale come those unions which represent little or nothing more than the one or two men (generally drawn from professional leaders) who fill the leading offices. A few such unions

can fairly be described as having had their main evidence of reality in notepaper headings. The object is to give a platform and a name to the leaders. The members, if not imaginary, are convened on the rare occasions when the endorsement of resolutions is required" (p. 319). "This type of valueless growth.....was stimulated by the belief that it would assist the leaders to secure nomination to local councils or international conferences."

This period of mushroom formation of trade unions was also marked by intense discontent and unrest. The textile industry was facing keen contest because of rationalisation in other countries. Therefore a 25% cut in wages were introduced, work was increased per worker and retrenchment and wide-spread unemployment was the result. In the course of a short period about 60,000 workers (70%) were thrown out of employment : out of 84 in 1931 only 50 mills kept working in 1933-34. Naturally, therefore, the strike-wave increased in 1933 as compared to 1932. In 1932 there were in all 11 strikes, involving 6,472 workers, losing 1,67,348 working days. Whereas in 1933 there were 35 strikes, involving 42,777 workers, losing 3,48,553 working days. Most of them, however, were failures because there were too many small and weak unions, a majority of the workers not being members at all. Moreover, there was too much of faultfinding and blaming amongst the union leaders themselves, the communist leaders charging the 'reformists' and *vice versa*.

The whole story was repeated in 1934 when the general strike in the textile industry all over India began on 23rd of April. After about a fortnight the strikes showed signs of breaking because of a quarrel over the inclusion (or non-inclusion) of Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale in the strike

committee, between the communists on the one hand and non-communists on the other. There were also charges and counter-charges of misleading the workers to go back to work. Naturally, therefore, the strike failed and failed miserably. Between the rivalries of the leaders the workers were the worst sufferers.

In the 1935 elections the 'Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red flag)' was won over by the communists and therefore the defeated party started the 'Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay,' under the leadership of Kandalkar, the ex-Vice-President of the A.I.T.U.C. (1931). Since then till about 1940, the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red flag) has been the strongest and the most active union in the city of Bombay. Other unions have a small following and their activities are limited to a few mills in which they have some following.

In 1938, when the Indian National Congress formed ministries in various provinces under provincial autonomy, the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act was passed. The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red flag) was against it from the very beginning for, to them, it was an onslaught on the fundamental right of the workers—the right to strike. They called it a 'black act' and arranged demonstrations and led strikes under protest. But before much could be done about it, the second World War began, and the Congress Ministries resigned.

At about this time one Rashtriya Girni Kamgar Sangh (National Mill-Workers' Union) was formed in Bombay on the lines of the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad. It believed in establishing just and harmonious industrial relations by peaceful and legitimate means on the basis of truth and non-violence. With it the national interests outweighed the

international ones, and therefore its policy came in direct conflict with the communist unions. For, when on 22nd of June, 1941, Germany attacked Russia, the communists thought that the 'Imperialistic War,' had suddenly changed into a 'Peoples' War.' Therefore, they urged upon the workers to make sacrifices, not to go on strike and produce more, thus keeping the civil and military supply constant especially when the Japanese Army (along with the Indian National Army) was marching towards India. It was, said the communist unions, the patriotic duty of the workers to keep the machines working.

On the other hand, in August 1942 when the national leaders were arrested, the Rashtriya Girni Kamgar Sangh appealed to the workers to protest against it by striking work. They appealed to the patriotism of the workers and said that they were soldiers in the fight for freedom first and workers next. As regards the Japanese danger, they maintained that it was more imaginary than real, at least not so serious as the communists would have the workers believe. The office-bearers of the Sangh were arrested and could start reorganizing only in 1944 when they were released. If the recent elections in the Textile Labour Constituency are any indication of the

influence of the contesting parties, then it seems that the Sangh ideologies are gaining ground amongst the textile labour. Mr. Nurie, the Congress candidate, secured as many as 4,019 votes against the veteran communist leader Dange who got only a few more viz. 4,794. Though technically it was the defeat of the non-communist candidate, the very narrow majority by which Mr. Dange was elected is a pointer to the growing influence of the Sangh amongst the Bombay textile labour.

Of course, it is difficult to predict whose will be the ultimate victory. But it is certain that the trade unionism in Bombay is gradually being reduced to political differences between the national unions and the communist unions, as in the past it was between the liberals and the communists. Because of further differences between the rightists and leftists in the National Congress, between the Communists and the Radical Democrats and certain other communal and personal differences being reflected in trade unionism, the situation is complex enough, much to the detriment of workers.

In the light of this cursory survey of textile trade unionism in Bombay other aspects of trade unionism can be better examined in the following paragraphs.

DISTRIBUTION OF TRADE UNIONS (REGIONWISE)*

POSITION OF BOMBAY TEXTILE UNIONS

Region	Total No. of Unions	No. of Unions in Textile Industry
British India	689	98
Bombay Presidency	287	45
Bombay City & Suburbs	126	12
	(Registered only 40)	

* *Labour Gazette (Bombay)*, August 1945.

Trade Union Government.—Before the passage of the Indian Trades Union Act in 1926 there were no regulations to control the internal government of the trade unions. All procedure and administration were subordinated to the will of the leaders who were mostly outsiders, and all regulations were sacrificed at the frequent occurrences of the industrial disputes and strikes. Specially the ballot voting for calling a strike was not practised or regularized till very recently. There were, of course, some well-administered unions even before the said act was enforced. The Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad, the Girni Kamgar Sangh led by Mr. Alwe (who was a worker himself) and the All-India Trade Union Congress—all of these had already set examples of well-regulated unions.

After the enforcement of the Indian Trade Unions Act, however, it became obligatory upon the unions desiring to register themselves to have a regular constitution. But, for those who do not want to get registered, there are no regulations and no obligations. As registration under the Act does not necessarily mean recognition by the employer, they are not very enthusiastic about getting registered or even maintaining it once it is done. Out of the total 126 principal unions in Bombay (in different trades) only 40 are registered. The remaining 86 are not. Many of the registered unions do not submit their periodical returns and lose their registration. In 1943, for instance, only 489 out of 693 unions in the whole of India submitted their returns. In short, as far as the internal government of the trade unions is concerned, the Act has proved to be merely an optional and permissive measure.

After 25 years of existence the consti-

tution of the trade unions under the Act has come to be based on a more or less uniform pattern.

Generally the constitutions provide for one managing committee, some centre committees and as many mill committees as there are mills under their influence. The management of the union is supposed to be vested in the managing committee which has according to rule 22 of the I. T. U. Act a limited number of honorary members or advisers, who are not textile workers. As has been pointed out because of the low standard of education amongst workers, because of the practice of victimization by the employers and because of the necessity for independent representatives, the presence of 'outsiders' has not only been found inevitable but also desirable to a certain extent. It is, however, a fact that because of the political controversies which these outsiders bring in, more harm than good is done to the Trade Union Movement.

The mill and the centre committees of the union which are represented on the managing committee work for collecting the subscriptions, for getting information about the grievances of the workers in that mill or centre and represent the matter to the managing committee or the employers directly as the situation may warrant. Sometimes it has been found, as in 1929, that the mill committees arrogate to themselves the right of the managing committee *viz.* declaring or calling off a strike.

Thus it has been discovered that though the constitution provides for a democratic machinery there are many irregularities in practice. The controversy between Mr. S. V. Deshpande and Mr. Kandalkar in 1931 about the real representation of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, the question of the inclusion of Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale in the strike-

committee of 1934, the point about the constitutional nature or otherwise of the meetings held in July 1934 and the glaring case of two rival and parallel managing committees existing simultaneously in a single union are all solid examples of the unconstitutional, irregular, undemocratic management of the Trade Unions.

How far these irregularities are due to the personal, political or other differences amongst the leaders and how far due to the ignorance of the workers, it is difficult to judge.

Office-bearers.—Due to the lack of time and education, the Bombay Trade Union Official compares unfavourably in the matter of efficiency with the officials of unions in the western countries. In the various annual reports on the working of the Indian Trade Unions Act it has been repeatedly pointed out that many union officials do not understand the working of the law and the procedure laid down therein, thus resulting in wrong or incomplete returns. Due to lack of finance the unions have not been able to employ the services of educated and specially trained ex-workers as recommended by the Royal Commission on Labour in India. It must be pointed out, however, that those who employed the services of trained persons have been more than amply compensated in terms of better organization.

Leadership within the unions has been acting through the offices of presidents, general secretaries, etc., but since the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, came

into being, at least in the registered unions it has been acting mainly through the advisers and honorary members. The history of the movement shows that but for the non-vocational bias and immature radicalism of certain union leaders, the trade union movement would have been one strong progressive force instead of of the house divided against itself that it is today.

Membership and Finance.—There is nothing more elusive in the study of trade unionism in India than its membership. Membership is still often not defined. There is no system of checking the figures of membership. The Royal Commission on Labour and the I.L.O. both have charged the unions for maintaining the names of those who have long ceased to pay the subscription. And this charge has not been contradicted. Moreover, usually the membership does not give the correct idea of the strength of the unions. Because there are more than one trade unions in one industry the workers may join or follow any one of them in times of difficulty or crisis. That, however, depends upon their evaluation of the benefits that may accrue to them as a result of joining ranks with a particular union. There are many workers who are trade union conscious but do not participate in the usual activities either because of lack of time or fear of victimization. Others, on the other hand, calculate that the gains won by the union will naturally be theirs even without their participation.

Membership of Trade Unions*

No.	Name of Region	Total Figure of Membership	Membership in Textile Unions
1.	British India	6,85,299	1,61,133
2.	Bombay Presidency	3,14,580	1,27,368
3.	Bombay City	99,701	39,556
			Bombay G.K.U. 26,099

*Labour Gazette (Bombay), August 1945.

The unions have a general fund made up of monthly subscriptions which are very small because of the low income of the workers. That is the reason, perhaps, why the unions cannot undertake any long-term constructive welfare programme for the workers. Most of the funds are spent as salaries that are meagre and on offices that are poorly equipped. They can also utilize this amount on maintaining their elected members to the legislature. The accounts in most of the unions unfortunately are not kept as efficiently as are done in any commercial firm. Political and strike funds are separately collected on a voluntary basis.

This matter of finances, of income and expenditure directly leads to the question of the various activities over which this money is spent and can possibly be spent.

The study, however, reveals that the unions in point could not launch any long or short term programme because the day-to-day problems of labour have not yet been solved, thus providing a lot of day-to-day spade work to the unions. Therefore the professed and actual functions and the extent and nature of activities is the only thing that can be studied.

The constitutions of Bombay Textile Trade Unions generally have laid down the following as their functions :—

- (1) To organize all the workers in the industry ;
- (2) To strive for the realization of all the immediate demands of the workers regarding the conditions of their employment by all available means of legislation, collective bargaining and 'direct action' ;
- (3) To ameliorate the economic and social conditions of the working class ;
- (4) To help the worker in case of sickness, unemployment and his family in case of his death, etc. ;
- (5) To provide legal aid to the workers in case of compensation benefits, etc.
- (6) To give relief to the workers in times of strikes ;
- (7) To collect all possible information on Indian and foreign labour and industry.

The A.I.T.U.C. includes in its functions the removal of untouchability in India.

In actual practice, however, it has been found that except for the immediate grievances of the workers there is not much that the unions could give attention to. But even this work is pretty heavy and should not be under-estimated. Even after twenty-five years of trade unionism workers have not been granted even the minimum wages and minimum housing, fair conditions of work and just terms of employment.

There have been some attempts by the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union and the Rastriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh to conduct night classes, libraries and reading rooms. Lack of enthusiasm on the part of both the organizers and the workers has been responsible for the lack of progress in that line. The wage-minded workers, the politically-inclined leaders and the profit-minded employers all show a singular apathy towards adult education, recreation, health and housing and even the family life of the workers.

That is why there are no labour schools, labour hospitals, labour clubs and labour libraries in Bombay organized by the trade unions. The benefit schemes, the social insurance and other similar measures are too progressive to be adopted by

unions at this stage under the present circumstances.

And of course there are strong reasons for this 'sorry scheme of things entire.'

Firstly, because in the twenty years between 1920 and 1940 there have been 3,500 disputes in the whole of India (Bombay contributing a large share). That means there were 175 disputes every year or working it out it comes to 14 disputes a month or a dispute every two days! Under such circumstances there is not peace enough to undertake any constructive programme. Since, of course, the labour legislation came in vogue, some unions have provided very regular and expert legal aid to their members in their day to day troubles.

In short, lack of enough funds, lack of proper and enough personnel, the constant displeasure of the Government, the constant attack of the employers and the political motives of the leaders all together have prevented the trade unions from doing their rightful bit for the welfare of the workers as the full-fledged, healthy and progressive trade unions in the West do.

This is not, however, to under-estimate the achievement of textile trade unions in the last quarter of the century. Specially in Bombay one finds a great change (for the better) between the labour conditions at the time of the First Great War and the Second. But considering how much more can be done it seems that our unionism has yet to go a long way before it attains that level.

In the matter of labour legislation, no doubt various trade unions' leaders have fought in the assemblies—provincial and central—year in and year out and some of them are responsible for bringing about

the enactment of certain permissive and partially protective pieces of legislation. While expressing his views on this subject one Union leader said that there is no relation between the trade union movement and the labour legislation in India even as there is no relation between the national movement and the present constitution of India. It was only when the I.L.O. started functioning that certain conventions passed at their periodical conferences had to be ratified by the Government of India and some labour legislation was enacted. But again there is a wide gap between the enactment and the actual efficient enforcement. That holds good for all sorts of acts right from Factory Acts upto the Disputes Acts.

No other acts have influenced the textile trade unions in Bombay as the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, the Indian Trade Disputes Act, 1929, and the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938.

The Indian Trade Unions Act came into being as a result of an old standing demand put forth by leaders like Messrs. Saklatwala, Joshi and Wadia. It gave a legal status and certain immunities to the registered trade unions but registration itself was optional. It therefore could not prevent the mushroom growth of "bogus" unions. Moreover, the restrictions which the registration put on the unions were not compensated by recognition from the employers. Consequently, it did not prove a complete success. Further, the Act could not work efficiently because most of the union officials did not understand the working of the Act thoroughly. The industrial disputes legislation, however, has evolved gradually and has not been arbitrarily fixed like the trade union legislation. The Trade Disputes Act of 1929 did not affect the trade unions so directly as the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act did. For, it sought to create

three types of unions, defined and fixed the nature of representation, and sought to regularize the collective bargaining. But it made the procedure so long and complicated that it took months before any redress could be expected. Therefore in the case of urgent demands the workers had to resort to strikes which were illegal according to the Act. Moreover, it also left scope for the employers to influence five per cent of their employees and put up a qualified registered and recognized union as a rival union against a genuine one. Twenty-five per cent membership was also too much to be expected to make the union representative. Of course, most of these defects are sought to be remedied in the recently proposed amendments. It can be suggested here that the Canadian and the New Zealand models of the industrial disputes legislation can be profitably adopted for our purposes, without hamper-

ing healthy growth of trade unions. For trade unions need not thrive on strikes and disputes ; that is merely the negative aspect of trade unionism. But the trade unions will have no choice except to declare strike if even the primary demands of the workers such as normal day, minimum and standardized wages, fair terms of employment and humane conditions of work are not satisfied. It is high time our Government and employers conceded these demands. Then alone the trade union movement can assume its proper positive and constructive role thriving on genuine industrial peace. Real industrial peace cannot be obtained by merely suppressing or postponing the strikes but by establishing favourable conditions in industries and allowing a considerable hand for labour in the management of industries and through it in the Government of the country as a whole.

NOTES AND NEWS

LABOUR INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE REPORTS

Collection of Data on Labour Conditions

*The Labour Investigation Committee, appointed by the Government of India in 1944 with Mr. D. V. Rege, I.C.S., as Chairman and Mr. S. R. Deshpande, Dr. Ahmed Mukhtar and Professor B. P. Adarkar as members, have compiled data on all aspects of labour conditions, in 35 reports, 20 of which have been printed. These reports are expected to help the future planning of social security for labour and legislation by the Government.

The data collected by the Rege Committee relate to the wages and earnings, employment housing and social conditions of labour in 38 selected industries, namely *Mining*—Mica, Manganese, Iron-ore, Gold, Coal and Salt ; *Plantations*—Tea, Coffee and Rubber ; *Factories*—Mica splitting, Woollen, Silk, Cement, Paper, Coir matting, Carpet weaving, Shellac, Bidi-making, Potteries, Glass, Mineral oil, Rice mills, Dockyards, Engineering, Tanneries and Leather goods, Printing presses, Chemicals, Cotton ginning and baling, Match, Sugar, Cotton textile and Jute ; *Transport*—Tram and Bus services, Non-gazetted railway services ; and *Other Types*—Port labour, Municipal labour, Central P. W. D. and Rickshaw pullers.

An industry-wise survey was conducted by the Committee which travelled throughout India visiting 65 centres. On-the-spot investigations were carried out in 528 centres including plantation—

estates and mines. Sample surveys were made of 1,631 establishments relating to various industries. Questionnaires containing hundreds of questions were issued to various industrial concerns, Provincial and State Governments, Officials and Employers' and Employees' organizations and the replies analysed. The quantity of factual material analysed by the Committee would be illustrated by the fact that in regard to the wage census alone 34,080 forms were received.

A field staff consisting of 16 Supervisors and 45 Investigators were employed by the Committee for *ad hoc* surveys and collection of information on the spot through personal contacts with employers, workers and officials. Representative centres were selected region-wise so as to discover differences in the conditions of labour in the same industry in different parts of the country. Investigations related particularly to protection given by existing labour legislation wages and earnings, working conditions, indebtedness, age and mortality statistics, welfare activities and social security measures.

The Committee was considerably assisted in their work by Provincial and State Governments, Local bodies, Port authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organizations.

Indian Labour Gazette, July 46.

NEW TRENDS IN LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Labor and management representatives alike in the United States can count some, though minor, gains in industrial

relations, now that the bulk of predicted postwar strikes has been settled.

One trend which is commended by

the National Association of Manufacturers, mouthpiece and service organization for management interests, is increased use of suggestion systems. More and more, management is welcoming suggestions from employees as to how their work or the process in which they are interested may be improved. The old-time question box, into which employees dropped their suggestions anonymously has now given way almost entirely to suggestion departments.

The modern suggestion department includes a panel of experts who talk directly to the employees who have new ideas and who seriously attempt to gain experience from even the rejected ideas offered. In most cases, suggestions which result in a saving to the company or an improvement in methods are rewarded with money prizes. The Stromberg Carlson Company, makers of radios and radio phonographs, paid an average of 55 dollars per employee for suggestions during 1943 and found the system profitable.

The National Association of Manufacturers has disclosed that inquiries from its members as to the procedure for establishing suggestion systems are increasing daily and recent requests for information have been received from such diversified organizations as General Textile Mills, Inc.; R. G. Le Tourneau, Inc., producers of road building equipment; and Sheffield Farms, dairy products processor and distributor.

In the opinion of the National Association of Manufacturers, the system gives labor the feeling that it is a definite partner of management and is working with it for the benefit of both.

New Profit-Sharing Plan.—Another precedent which might find a prominent place in future employee-employer relationships is the profit-sharing plan of Eric A.

Johnston, formerly director of the United States Chamber of Commerce and owner of large business interests. The plan went into effect this year in the Brown-Johnston Company, retailers of electrical equipment, and the wholesale manufacturing divisions of the Columbia Electric and Manufacturing Company, both in Spokane, Washington.

According to the Johnston plan, employees share 25 per cent of net profit before taxes on a point system. One point is granted each employee for each 100 dollar of annual salary; one point for each year of continuous service; five points for each term served on a "junior board of directors" composed of employees; etc.

It was Eric Johnston who, as director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, signed with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, a labor charter which calls for a practical labor-management partnership to stimulate the highest possible degree of production and employment at wages that assure a steady advance in the American standard of living.

Some advanced ideas which will serve as precedents in industrial relations have been expressed by Henry J. Kaiser, world-famed industrialist who solved many production problems during the war and who has entered the postwar automobile manufacturing field following purchase of the huge Government bomber-building plant at Willow Run. Kaiser's policy is to keep up the morale of his workers and thus prevent strikes by providing social security, safety regulations, incentive motives, recreation, etc.

Vermont Sets Up Industrial Relations Council.—Perhaps the most constructive remedy of all to arise from recent industrial

strife has come from Vermont. In that rocky New England state, which was one of the original 13 colonies, the town meeting is still a valid part of the democratic process and every citizen has a right to attend and to discuss community problems before action is taken on them.

In Vermont, a State Industrial Relations Council has been set up. It is composed of representatives of industry and unions. Government has no part in it, but the council has gone far toward creating real understanding between labor and industry.

There are eight members of the council who represent the Associated Industries of Vermont, four members from the state organization of the American Federation of Labor and four others from the state organization of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Each of these three groups elects its chairman and the three chairmen take turns presiding over the council. The council has been in session for more than a year. Many of its meetings have been stormy, but recent reports of both labor and management indicate that encouraging progress has been made and the method

has been recommended for other states of the Union.

Labor Represented At Washington.—Something like the same principle has been applied to the U. S. Department of Labor. Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach, since his appointment, has been working on a plan to promote industrial peace. Finally, the plan has been approved by Congress and three assistant secretaries have been appointed.

They are John W. Gibson of the CIO, Philip Hannah of the AFL and David A. Morse, assistant secretary for international matters, who has been appointed with the joint approval of both the AFL and CIO. Both Gibson and Hannah have been members of their respective unions all their lives and were trained in the ways of unions by their fathers. Both were coal miners and both started work in the mines when they were very young—Gibson at 16 and Hannah at 13. Morse, an attorney, was labor director of the military government in Italy, acting director of the Control Council in Paris and director of the Control Council in Germany.—USIS.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN

Practical steps are being taken in Great Britain towards the realisation of the educational reforms provided by the Education Act, 1944. The latest measures are indicated below.

Nursery Schools.—Comprehensive nursery care for children under five years of age is provided for in the Education Act, and, as a first step towards its establishment, wartime services are being reorganized. The need for such services is urgently felt for various reasons of national importance; for instance, women workers are needed

in industries vital for essential production, housing and shopping difficulties are liable to continue for some time, and more generally, it is desirable to give mothers an opportunity for rest and relaxation.

In a circular, issued jointly by the Ministers of Health and Education in December, 1945, the local authorities were asked to submit schemes to this effect by the end of February, 1946. It is considered that the measurement of local need and the choice of the best methods of meeting it must rest primarily with the

local authorities concerned. The following suggestions are made in the circular as to various methods which could be organized locally : (a) nursery schools, nursery classes, day nurseries, and schemes of daily guardians ; (b) use of maternity and child welfare centres on two or three afternoons a week as temporary creches ; (c) organizing as volunteers, responsible women or older girls willing to " sit in " at the home of children while the parents go out together in the evening.

From 31 March, 1946, those wartime nurseries which, as a result of schemes submitted by local authorities, become nursery schools or nursery classes will be entitled to the normal education grant from the Ministry of Education ; wartime nurseries continuing as day nurseries will receive a similar grant from the Ministry of Health. This grant will also be payable for registered daily guardian scheme afternoon creches, and evening " sitters-in."

It is considered that mothers with children under two years of age should be discouraged from taking up employment. Nursery schools and classes would provide for children between two and five years of age ; day nurseries and daily guardians could meet special needs.

Handicapped Children.—A special advisory committee, consisting of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and two other members, has been appointed by the Minister of Education to advise her on such matters relating to children requiring special education treatment as may be submitted to it or as it may consider require investigation.

A circular has been sent from the Ministry of Education asking local authorities, as a matter of urgency, to consider making additional provision for special boarding schools intended for educationally subnormal and maladjusted children. The authorities have already been asked to include in their development plans proposals for dealing with physically handicapped and delicate children. It is estimated that there are some 15,000 educationally subnormal children in England and Wales who need the kind of care and education which only boarding schools can provide ; accommodation exists at present for only 3,000 to 4,000 of them.

*International Labor Review—
March-April '46.*

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO ERADICATE WORLD'S DEADLY DISEASES

One of the truly breath-taking possibilities of world organization which has been subordinated to more current issues is an international system of medical research laboratories discussed at the International Health Conference, called by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, which met in New York City in July.

In opening the first session of the International Health Conference, M. Henri Laugier, of France, Assistant Secretary

General of the United Nations in charge of social affairs, called for speedy establishment of a World Health Organization. He continued :

" For the first time in history, the whole of the human community has set itself the task to unite all its efforts, to co-ordinate and multiply them on the level of the whole world, in order to launch the fight against suffering, against illness, against death.

"Each of you is passionately interested in certain precise technical problems, be it the fight against cancer, against tuberculosis, against rheumatism, against tropical fevers, or be it cerebral surgery, epidemiology, pharmacology, psychiatry or some other specialized field.

"A day will come, at an early conference, when you will have to concentrate on these technical problems, to set up working programmes with all the devoted care which you give to your own medical disciplines.

"There is, in particular, a general trend in the minds of all who think, toward the organization of international research laboratories, equipped with all material means, with the highest grade of personnel, fathoming in full-time occupation the scientists of all countries, who would work in an atmosphere of close human collaboration.

"Many internationally minded men are convinced that this is an immensely efficient way—and, contrary to all expectations, a truly economical way—of bringing rapidly to a satisfactory achievement many difficult research works that are now with great pain conducted on a national level by all countries."

Dr. Julius J. Perlmutter, president of the National Cancer Foundation of the United States, wired the conference offering to place foundation facilities at the disposal of the United Nations, declaring that action by a community of nations "could

create the largest pool of funds, facilities and brains ever mustered" to deal with the problem of cancer.

Role of International Laboratories.—Fitzhugh Turner, who writes of such things for the *New York Herald Tribune*, reporting the conference meeting, said that medical men of practically every nation who gathered there were thinking in terms of "great international laboratories spotted over the globe, with teams of top scientific minds of all nations achieving the discoveries which finally rid mankind of such plagues as cancer, the tropical fevers, tuberculosis and leprosy."

Recent medical works indicate the basic belief that the common diseases of mankind evolve and disappear throughout the years and that proper international co-operation in the medical field would make it possible to eradicate from the face of the earth many of our most deadly diseases.

The activities of the United Nations, even at this early stage, are encouraging in this respect. The medical men engaging in the talks at the first meeting of the International Health Conference were delegates and observers who represented not only the fifty-one members of the United Nations, but also sixteen of seventeen major countries outside the United Nations. Spain was not represented. Their immediate objective is to set up a worldwide organization capable of coping with problems of public health.—USIS.

HEALTH SAFETY AND WELFARE OF WORKERS

The Central Department's proposals to revise the Indian Factories Act so as to secure better working conditions for industrial labour have been unanimously accepted by the Standing Labour Committee which met in New Delhi on July 25 under

the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. S. Lall, Secretary, Labour Department, Government of India. The meeting lasted two days. The proposals envisage the registration and licensing of factories and inclusion of specific provisions regarding the

health, safety and welfare of the workers in the Act itself.

The Committee then considered the question of regulating the conditions of employment in business houses and commercial undertakings in urban areas and agreed to the proposal that a Central Act should be legislated in order to secure uniformity in all Provinces.

Committee's Resolution.—The Industrial Housing Sub-Committee's Report was then taken up for discussion. The minimum standards proposed in the Report, namely, that workers' houses should have at least two rooms of a total area of 240 sq. ft. with proper ventilation, lighting and sanitation were accepted as generally suitable. Discussions on this subject had not concluded when the Committee adjourned to meet the following day.

Emphasising that special steps should be taken for obtaining building materials which are still in short supply, the Committee at its meeting on July 26 adopted a Resolution expressing general approval of the Report of the Industrial Housing Sub-Committee.

According to the Resolution, Government subsidy for construction of workers' houses should be increased, and in view of the fact that the rent charged to the workers will be un-economic, the deficit should be shared equally by the Central Government, Provincial Governments and the employers. The minimum standards laid down in the Report are accepted as suitable and the early formation of a National and Regional Housing Boards is urged.

Indian Information, August 15, 1946.

TRAVELLING LIBRARIES IN U. S. FOR RURAL AND ISOLATED AREAS

The travelling demonstration library known as the "bookmobile", is seeking formal approval of the United States public during the current Congressional recess.

Pending popular acceptance of the idea, the matter will be brought up again in January when the new Congress convenes and the "bookmobile" may then become a nationally accepted institution. Already the "bookmobile" has had a long record of performance in the rural areas of the nation.

The record of hearings on the bill for Federal aid shows that the state of Ohio has 29 "bookmobiles" and that they circulated 2,589,035 books last year. The demonstration system has been used in Virginia, Louisiana and a number of other southern states and always to good purpose. In most cases they demonstrated the usefulness of the free, public library so

well that the communities built libraries and then dispensed with the travelling ones. In other cases, they have been used to bring books to people who live in sparsely settled and isolated areas.

Usually, the "bookmobile" is a light truck stocked with a modest supply of books fitted to its capacity. The vehicle is driven by the librarian who travels about isolated mountain and other rural areas lending books under the same sort of systems used by the free public libraries of cities or countries. At the end of the usual two-week loan period, the "bookmobile" comes around again, collects the books which have been read and lends others.

Federal Aid Sought.—The proposal now on the national legislative calendar is to encourage the use of travelling libraries where they are not now in use and

to increase the number in areas where they are already in use. Any state, after presenting a satisfactory plan, with an acceptable budget, to the National Government, may become eligible for a grant of 25,000 dollars to put the plan into effect. If a more expensive plan is desired, the Federal Government will match any additional funds furnished by the state up to a total budget of 125,000 dollars a year for four years.

Federal aid for the "bookmobile" system will not amount to a life-and-death decision because the plan has existed in one form or another for 150 years, ever since the colorful character known as Parson Weems sold books all along the eastern seaboard from his market wagon. Federal aid would expand the system, however, and, even more important, it would encourage the establishment of permanent library facilities where they do not exist at the present time.

Testimony before members of the Senate Education and Labour Committee indicated that demonstration travelling libraries have been notably successful in interesting people in reading. Paul Howard, of the American Library Association, told the committee that passage of the bill would be one of the landmarks in library history. He said the "bookmobile" bill would do even more for rural libraries than Carnegie did for libraries in more populated areas.

10,380 Regular Libraries In U.S.— The reference was to the aid of Andrew Carnegie to the free public library system in the United States. An immigrant

who became the country's greatest steel magnate, Carnegie spent millions of dollars for the building of libraries in cities and towns throughout the country. Since his activity, free public libraries in the United States have increased to the number of 7,995. That is the number to which any person may go and borrow books to take home and read without cost. There are 10,380 libraries altogether in the continental United States. Some of these belong to schools and universities and their use is sometimes restricted to registered students.

Most free public libraries in the United States are officially restricted to use by citizens living within the area supporting the library by taxation, but identification is seldom required of borrowers. In spite of the democracy of the system, witnesses told the Senators that 35 million people in the United States do not have access to any public library.

Congress will not arbitrarily build libraries in the areas known to need them. Democratically, the Federal Government will demonstrate the need; the libraries, like roads and schools, must be built by the people themselves if they want them.

Mrs. Douglas said, while arguing the case for her bill in the House: "Judging by the experience of such regional experiments as have been made in Tennessee, Louisiana, and North Carolina, once a taste has been given for library service, the appetite grows and the community is eager to co-operate with the state to carry on the service."—USIS.

REHABILITATION OF DISABLED SERVICEMEN

To rehabilitate approximately 60,000 men of the Indian Defence Services disabled during the late war, an ambitious

scheme has been jointly undertaken by the War and Labour Departments of the Government of India.

The scheme falls under three main heads : completion of hospital treatment ; educational and vocational training at Services Convalescent Rehabilitation Centres (S.C.R.Cs) ; and training at special centres organized by the Labour Department.

S.C.R.Cs have been set up at Bangalore, Moradabad, Kirkee, Secunderabad, and Bareilly. Two more are to be established at Rawalpindi and Lahore. The first four have accommodation for 1,000 trainees and the remainder for 500.

Object of Training.—The scheme, which is entirely voluntary, applies to disabled men still in the services and to those who have been discharged. Discharged persons, if accepted for the scheme, will continue to draw their disability pensions and receive an allowance equal to the difference between their disability pension and their pay at the time of their discharge. After February 28, 1947, those on the

active list will be discharged from the Services. All those under training will then be given Rs. 10 monthly plus disability pensions granted. Rations, clothing and accommodation will continue to be supplied free.

Subjects taught at S.C.R.Cs include carpentry, rope and string-making, weaving, tailoring, basket-making, agriculture, clerical work and leather work.

The object of this training is to restore a man's confidence in his working ability and to assist the Labour Department's Rehabilitation Officers to decide whether a man, after his instruction, is fit for immediate employment or whether he should receive further training at a Labour Department centre. Three such centres have been opened at Jallahali (near Bangalore), Aundh and Coconada. It is proposed to establish three more in Bombay.

Indian Information—August 15, 1946

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEES PROMOTE LABOR MANAGEMENT HARMONY IN U.S.

In the United States today many forward-looking cities are promoting labor-management harmony through the voluntary creation of industrial relations committees. Composed of representatives of local labor unions, business firms and industries, and the general public, these committees are providing a meeting-ground for the discussion of labor-management problems as they arise, as well as permanent machinery for the settlement of disputes when negotiations have broken down.

The people of Louisville, Kentucky, recently acted to improve labor-management relations by setting up an 18 member mediation board to handle local labor disputes. This board was patterned after

another industrial relations committee created several months ago in Toledo, Ohio. Composed of six representatives each from labor and management, and six representatives of the general public, all appointed by the mayor, the board, through special three-member sub-committees, mediate cases submitted to it by parties to a dispute.

The Industrial Relations Council of Metropolitan Boston, said to have been the first community program for the settlement of labor-management controversies without Government participation, has been a pace-maker among such voluntary groups. Composed primarily of labor unions and business firms, it has, since its creation in December, 1941, applied the

New England town meeting technique to all its activities. Talk, the nub of the town-meeting, is the fundamental principle upon which the Council operates. Through this medium, a workable mechanism for getting at the core of labor-management problems and reducing industrial strife has been found. The Council calls regular mass conferences and frequent committee meetings, and sponsors a weekly radio program for the airing, not only of individual issues, but of all questions relating to industrial relations. •

During the war, the Government, through the War Labor Board, handled the more serious labor disputes that arose in the Boston area, but by 1944 the regional chairman of the Board was inviting the Council to conciliate many cases on the docket which he felt could be settled "out of court." The Council now handles the majority of labor dispute cases.

Equal Representation For Labor And Management.—The Council is run by an executive committee elected annually by its membership. Of the fourteen men sitting on the committee, six are from management, six from labor—divided equally between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—and two from the general public. Activities are financed on an annual budget which approximates at present 14,000 dollars. This money is raised from yearly membership fees—ten dollars for a local union and from five to seventy-five dollars for a business firm, depending on the number of persons it employs.

Throughout the year, the AFL, the CIO and management groups sponsor conferences for their own members. Here, policy on basic issues is fixed, and pertinent problems discussed. A mass conference attended by all groups and sponsored by the Council is held annually. At this

meeting, members are addressed by prominent national labor, management and public figures and an attempt is made to bring individual policies and programs into focus. But the most important work is done at the frequent meetings of the council's executive and other committees at which small groups of labor leaders and businessmen develop the habit of unraveling mutual problems harmoniously.

"The problem is to get common sense into everyday plant relations," Frederick W. Bliss, an industry member of the executive committee and its present chairman, said recently. "This means that labor and management must be taken away from the heat of a plant disturbance, to learn that the other fellow is human too. Labor and management must meet, moreover, at other times than when disputes are in progress; this idea of meeting the other side only when there is a fight has been the cause of too much trouble in the past."

In the typical Council "case," a union representative phones the executive director of the Council to complain of unreasonable obstinacy on the part of a given firm in the settlement of a grievance—or management may file the complaint against the union. The executive director immediately communicates with the head of the firm (or the union) and arranges a meeting of the disputing parties at the Council Office to "talk things over." In this way, grievances are settled amicably, in an atmosphere of calm and conciliation. Sometimes, when this method fails to bring the desired results, additional conciliation or arbitration facilities may be needed. The Council provides these facilities through its special conciliation committee (also composed equally of labor and management) and makes available one-man bi-partite, or tri-partite conciliation or

arbitration panels at the request of the disputing parties. Since V-J Day, informal conciliation has brought about a settlement in all but four cases, and these four were settled amicably by arbitration.

On the whole, the Council is endorsed by labor and management in the Boston area, although some groups within labor oppose the Council because it excludes Government from participation.—USIS.

BEGGARS' WORKHOUSE IN MADRAS

(a) *Beggar Problem in Madras.*—The need for a human approach and a missionary spirit in the administration of an institution like the Workhouse for able-bodied beggars was stressed by Mr. Daniel Thomas, Minister for Local Administration declaring open, last evening, the Madras Corporation Work House for able-bodied beggars at No. 87, Suryanarayana Chetty Street, Royapuram.

Mr. T. S. Avudaiyappa Pillai, Acting Commissioner, requested Mr. Daniel Thomas to declare the Workhouse open and detailed the steps taken by the Corporation to solve the beggar problem in the City. The Corporation maintained a Poor House for destitutes which could accommodate 250 persons. Admission to the House was voluntary and nearly 100 persons were at present getting relief there. The Special Home for diseased and infirm beggars had now nearly 300 inmates. In addition to these, it was also thought necessary to tackle the problem of beggars who were physically strong. The Government were approached in the matter and a legislation was enacted for committing able-bodied beggars to a recognised industrial home. The construction of a Workhouse accordingly at an estimated cost of Rs. 80,000 was sanctioned in June last year and the work was completed in February last. The Institution has separate enclosures for men and women, and already 100 men and 50 women had been committed to it. Provision had been made for industries like rattan work,

basket-making, rope-making and tape-weaving. Those who were capable of hard work were being taken out under proper escort and employed as road workers or casual labourers. A beggar, after his discharge, could secure employment under the Corporation or elsewhere either as skilled or as unskilled labourer. The Corporation had to spend on the Workhouse between Rs. 8,000 and Rs. 10,000 annually on establishment and about Rs. 30,000 on feeding, and Mr. Avudaiyappa Pillai requested the Government and the public to help it in running the institution. Mr. Daniel Thomas said that the care of beggars was no longer a question of philanthropy, but was a question of social justice. While it was the duty of every individual to contribute his mite towards the social well-being, it was obligatory on society to provide for the well-being of the individual, by providing for his employment, old age, sickness and recreation. It was in the discharge of this function of society that they were starting this Workhouse. Mr. Daniel Thomas, therefore, appealed to the public to co-operate with the Corporation in making the institution serve its real purpose of reclaiming the beggars and making them useful members of society.

Proceeding, Mr. Daniel Thomas said that the institution should not be regarded as a place of detention, but should be regarded as a rest house for setting right those going down the slippery slope of destitution. There should, therefore, be human understanding between those res-

possible for running the institution and the inmates. An inmate should be given the work for which he or she had the capacity or training. The missionary spirit was needed here. There should be ways and means for discharging a person from the Workhouse, the moment it was felt that he would not be a liability on society and could be set on his feet. A Committee of public-spirited ladies and

gentlemen could periodically inspect the institution, and give guidance and assistance to those in charge of it.

The Minister then unveiled the inscribed tablet and declared the Workhouse open. The Minister went round the institution and suggested the introduction of vegetable gardening for men and spinning for women.

The Hindu, 9th June 46.

CONTROL OF BEGGARS IN THE CITY

Control of Beggars in the City.—A Conference of officials and social workers was held this morning at which Mr. Daniel Thomas, Minister for Local Administration, presided, when the question of control of beggars in the City was discussed.

The Commissioner of Police, the Corporation Commissioner and Health Officer, the Collector of Madras and Mr. V. M. Ghatikachalam and a few other social workers attended the Conference.

Discussions centred on questions relat-

ing to widening of the powers of Magistrates to commit beggars to Work-Houses or Homes and enabling them to remit cases in which beggars could be discharged or transferred to work houses and organizing a colony for segregating those suffering from contagious and incurable diseases.

It is understood that a draft scheme on the basis of the day's discussion will soon be drawn up for the consideration of the Government.

The Hindu, June 20th, 1946.

BOOK REVIEWS

Organized Labour in Four Continents. By H. A. MARQUAND AND OTHERS : London: Longmans Green and Co., 1939. 518 Pages. 17s. 6d.

This book is the first attempt which seeks to compress between its covers the history of 'Organized Labour in Four Continents.' It meets the long-felt want of leaders and administrators, teachers and students who could now refer to one single book which gives reasonably good accounts of the growth of the labour movement in eleven countries, each one written by specialists who have marshalled a colossal mass of data with intelligent discrimination. The book covers as the title suggests four continents Europe, America, Australia and Asia. To an Indian reader the omission of Indian labour is rather surprising. While this does not detract from the value of the book, it would have added much to its usefulness, for, objective attempts to write on controversial matters are comparatively rare in India.

The book covers only the period between 1918 and 1938. But this being a more mature than formative period of labour history in advanced industrial countries, it provides accounts of developments in labour organization, collective bargaining, labour legislation and mainly labour politics from which India, which is behind the other countries, could learn much.

The organization of labour in Great Britain, the 'reward the friends and punish the foes' political policy of American

labour, the methods of settlement of industrial disputes evolved in Canada and Australia and the industrial democracy practised in the U.S.S.R. are some of the special adaptations by labour emphasized by the authors. The choice of the authors has fallen on countries which portray labour under various forms of governments ranging from a neo-capitalistic country like Japan to the Soviet system in the U.S.S.R. Only the colonial labour has unfortunately been omitted.

The World War II and the subsequent post-war period have been a new era in labour history and the editors of the book would do well to bring the history up-to-date in its second edition.

The book for obvious reasons lacks the structure of one organic whole because the authors, like the subjects, are spread out on the four continents and therefore, perhaps, had no opportunity to evolve a common method of treatment and approach towards the subjects. The varying emphasis on different aspects of the subject, however, gives a comprehensive idea of the problem. On the whole this book is a valuable contribution to the literature on labour problems.

P. D. K.

Food Control and Cattle Relief in Mysore By DR. R. G. KAKADE AND K. L. N. RAO.
MADRAS: Servants of India Society, 1946. 66 pages. Rs. 2/-.

In order to cope with the present acute and widespread shortage of food by equitable distribution of the available food supplies in the country, we need to know the requirements of different provinces and states and particularly the conditions prevailing in the scarcity areas. It is only by treating the country as a whole and by planning distribution on the principles of social justice that we can tide over the crisis without seriously impairing our national health. It is necessary to make an average citizen aware of the seriousness of the problem by bringing to his knowledge the conditions prevailing in areas most hit by the present calamity.

This publication of the Servants of India Society deals exhaustively and clearly with all problems connected with food supply and cattle relief in the state of Mysore. It is based on first hand information gathered through towns and surveys made by the members of the society. They have dealt at length with the policy of the Mysore Government in respect of the control, procurement and distribution of food and have offered constructive suggestions which are bound to be very useful in bringing further relief to the people.

It is not yet generally known that "though not officially announced" scarcity conditions already exist in some districts of Mysore. The standard ration in non-statutorily rationed areas is only 8 oz. in weight as against 12 oz. per adult per day in British India. The actual ration, however, drawn by most of the people in these areas amounts to 6 oz. People in the worst affected areas are living on tamarind seeds and wild roots. Dr. Kakade writes,

"Emancipation, resulting from a partial starvation for a long time, was clearly evident in some villages of Chitaldrug district. If the present situation is allowed to continue any longer, it may lead to some disaster of the Bengal famine type." Malnutrition has caused a distinct increase in the total number of deaths. Among other measures to relieve distress the authors suggest supplementing the diet of the common people by providing them with chillies, horsegram, dhall, cooking oils, dried fish and mutton at subsidized rates.

Mysore, which even normally is a deficit province, is facing acute scarcity due to total failure of rains. We are told that 11.36 lakhs of people will have no food unless it can be imported. The authors have revealed that at present there is absolutely no co-ordination in allotting quotas to various provinces. Thus Mysore is allotted millets from Baluchistan and Bombay gets the same from Hyderabad.

To keep the price of the foodstuffs within the reach of the consumers is an important problem. In this respect the Mysore government deserve to be congratulated. The government brings down the prices of the imported grains to the same level as local grains and meets the difference from out of its general revenues without taxing the consumer.

Scarcity of fodder has caused a great deal of suffering to the cattle and unless prompt measures are taken by removing good cattle from scarcity areas, most of the cattle may be lost, greatly upsetting the agricultural economy and thus prolonging famine conditions.

S. N. R.

Voluntary Social Services: Their Place in the Modern State. Edited By A. F. C. BOURDILLON. London. Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1945. 322 Pages. 16s.

"...it is a great mistake to suppose that as the scope of State action expands the scope of voluntary social service necessarily contracts. Its character changes..."

The above quotation may well serve as the general statement of this book dealing with the problem of combining public and private action in the field of social service. As the publishers have pointed out, this is a part of the wider problem of how to combine public and private action in a democratic society. With the conclusions to which the authors of this book have arrived all may not agree. But the conclusion seems to be typical of the British attitude of mind toward all problems. After considering the three alternatives of (i) total abolition of private action, (ii) a discovery of new fields for private action when the old ones have been taken over by the state, and (iii) the delimitation of certain fields, which the state may never control or control alone, the authors take up a very general position when they say that voluntary social services in some form are likely to be a permanent feature of the democratic State. They then proceed to point out that the real problem is one of reconciling "variety and spontaneity"—qualities characterizing voluntary efforts—with "efficiency and co-ordination,"—qualities, presumably, characterizing State action.

Such a conclusion cannot obviously claim to have given a solution to the problem which is raised in the introduction; nor does it seem to have been the effort of the authors to offer any such ready solution. The book impresses more as an effort at understanding the kind of relations that exist between public and private action today, and of the measures

necessary to make this relationship more effective in the interests of social service. In its efforts to analyse the present relationship the book has turned out to be one of the most comprehensive studies of the wide field covered by voluntary social services in England. After an introduction by Miss A. F. C. Bourdillon setting out the aims of the study, follows a chapter giving a retrospect of the development of voluntary social service. Written by Professor G. D. H. Cole, the chapter traces the history of social service from its early beginnings in religious philanthropy through the days of the Poor Law, the Evangelical Movement, and the Co-operative Movement and brings it up to the voluntary effort in England during the second World War. This historical perspective giving the dynamic view of social service institutions characterizes all the rest of the chapters dealing with the services. Among the subjects covered are the welfare services for the children, the blind and the deaf, the developments in case work, the social service aspects of the mutual aid movements, voluntary youth organizations, voluntary holiday organizations, voluntary organizations to facilitate co-ordination and the voluntary organizations in war-time. Each of the chapters makes fascinating reading as it traces the development of its particular service from its dim beginnings through its many vicissitudes to its present stage of comparative maturity.

As a complement to this part of the book, where the unit treated in each chapter is a particular social service, is another where all the social services in a particular region are covered. The two studies and the introduction, which comprise this part, stand out by the method of treatment adopted in them. They are not

'a mere enumeration or description of the various social services in the region, but a masterly effort in relating the development of particular services in a region to the socio-psychological characteristics of the people living in the region.

To us in India the book is of special significance. To our statesmen it is of significance in so far as it helps to bring out the many issues involved in the co-ordination of public and private action. To our public-spirited men and social workers it is useful in so far as it acquaints them with the many and new fields of service that could be explored and the many new turns that could be given to efforts already begun. To the student of social theory it is important because herein

he sees for himself the gradual development of the public spirit, the many forms it has taken from charity and philanthropy to intelligent aid and self-help, and its numerous attempts to meet changing needs of the people.

In spite of being just a collection of independent local surveys made by the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey, the book has a singular unity of presentation which speaks of itself for the forethought and planning that must have preceded the undertaking of these surveys. It is time our institutions for higher education undertook to prepare such invaluable symposia.

M. S. G.

The Barns Experiment. By W. DAVID WILLS: London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1945.

This is the story of a residential school for lawless boys written in a fascinating style so that "he who runs may read." The experiment was launched by the Society of Friends under the able leadership of the author ("Willsy" to the Barns boys). It not only illustrates the application of the principles of educational psychology to the problems of society but is also an inspiring example of how religion can be functional.

The boys at Barns were about 30 in number, and were admitted between the ages of 9 and 12. Their mental ages on the intelligence tests ranged from 6 to 16 years. They were referred to Barns for such dis-social behaviour as housebreaking, stealing, truancy, and "unmanageable behaviour." Their scholastic achievement was well below the normal for their mental and chronological ages. Nearly all of them came from the working class in Edinburgh. In most cases there was something inade-

quate in the family relationship: either one of the parents was missing or the boy did not feel secure in their affection. The boys normally stayed until the school-leaving age. But some parents often marred their boys' progress by insisting that they be sent home.

The basis of treatment for these boys was "love." Whatever their dis-social behaviour they were made to feel that they were "wanted," "accepted" and not "rejected." Punishment, therefore, was not used except when the "absolute laws"—which were very few—were broken; but that took place very seldom. Corporal punishment was abandoned altogether.

The boys made their own laws—but not all of them. There were three grades of authority at Barns. There was the authority of the adults, which was absolute on matters of health and which included the delegated authority of outside agencies such as the Education Authority. Then

there was the "influence" the author brought to bear in matters concerning relationship with the outside world. Thirdly, there was the student body or "general meeting" as they were called, who managed everything else. The procedures and routine were not rigidly laid down but changed according to the shifting needs and interests of the pupils.

Academic subjects were also taught at Barns. The boys were divided into two groups for the purpose, and each group taught three hours daily in the morning or in the afternoon. Then there was a wide variety of other activities, which included woodwork, painting, clay-modelling. The aim was not to make artists out of the boys, but to give them self-confidence through creative work, for these boys seemed to suffer from a sense of inadequacy and failure.

So successful were these unconventional methods at Barns that even the conservative elements in education were convinced and Barns won a permanent, recognised place in the treatment of the dis-social.

This book is most enlightening to those interested in child welfare and specially in the problem of juvenile delinquency. One should note not only the practical suggestions for the treatment of juvenile delinquency but also the profound sincerity and honesty with which the book is written.

The author frankly admits that the task of conducting the experiment was by no means an easy one. It took a great deal of patience by the staff and faith that in every "bad" boy there works a spark of divinity.

The author was the guiding spirit of the experiment and worked day and night for months without rest. Just when the reader is ready to pay him a tribute, he says humbly, "If our work at Barns had any success it is in spite of and not because of my personal qualities." Obviously, a piece of work of such great value to human welfare as the Barns Experiment requires persons of true character who place human welfare above self-interest.

K. B.

City Development. By LEWIS MUMFORD, Secker and Warburg, London 1946, pp. 199.

The title is an apt one though not original; the author thereby acknowledges his deep debt to Professor Patrick Geddes whose volume *City Development* aroused his interest as a young man. Lewis Mumford has imbibed the outlook of the Master. Like Geddes and Branford, he sees the city in its regional milieu not as something static but changing with time. The sub-title "Studies in Disintegration and Renewal" is a pointer to the historic considerations which weigh with

him in his appraisal of civic conditions and life.

The book contains six essays written at different times between 1925-43: *The City*, *The Metropolitan Milieu*, *Mass-Production and Housing*, *Report on Honolulu*, *The Social Foundations of Post-war Building* and *the Plan of London*. The last two are most recent; but they merely underline the principles Mumford appreciated even twenty years ago. What he

says of London can be true of any other city.

Lewis Mumford held out strongly for the City Beautiful. The filth, squalor, misery, absence of sunlight, elimination of fresh air so characteristic of our modern city revolt his sensitivity as a regional planner. His criticisms are trenchant and rarely miss their mark; more, they are not criticisms in a vacuum. His suggestions can

always be applied with a little thought and will to do better. Mumford is a good town planner because he is a good sociologist. He searches for a synthesis of the varied aspects of life.

His style is attractive; short stop to sentences which appeal both to the ear and the mind.

A. D.

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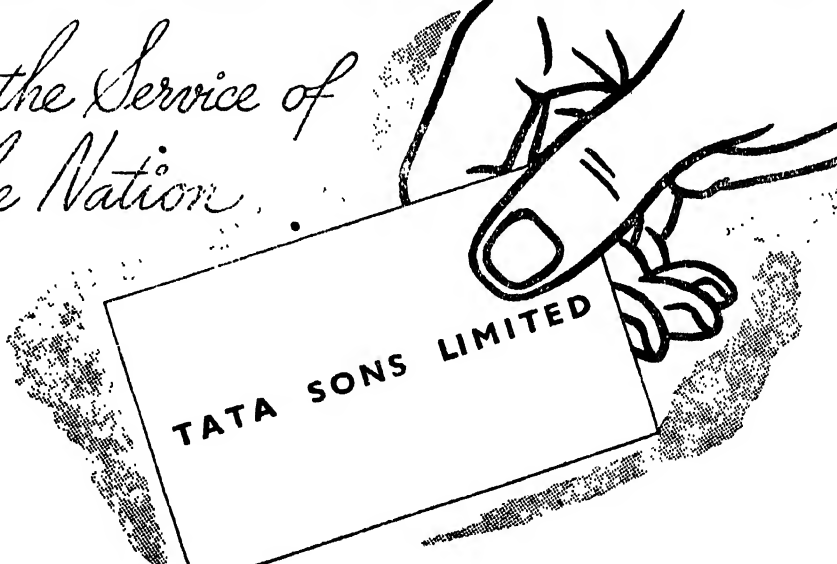
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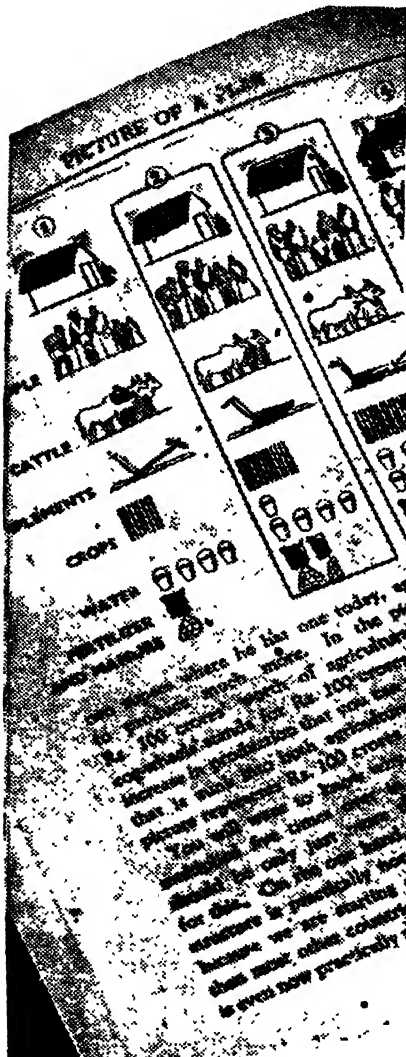
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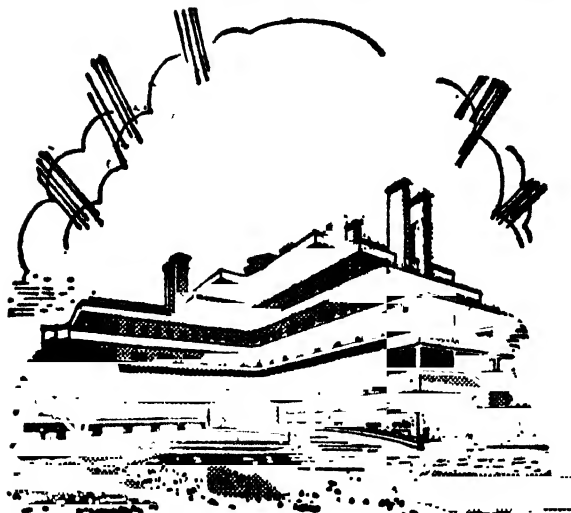
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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF WORK

J. C. KUMARAPPA

• Man spends most of his time in work. His life consists of what he does. According to the author of the following article, there are two important components of work, one of which promotes happiness and the other drudgery. The culture of a nation does not develop when work is split into its component parts. Therefore, he suggests, "If we are to derive full benefit from work, we have to keep as close as we can to the simple original form of work without dividing it up into its ineffective parts."

• Sjt. Kumarappa is the Organising Secretary to the All-India Village Industries Association.

Little do we realise the extent to which history of the human race has been moulded by the attitude man takes towards work. The Jewish approach was to look upon "work" as a curse from God. "By the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat bread" was the punishment meted out to Adam for his disobedience. Since then man has been trying hard to circumvent this curse. He wants to eat bread but he does not wish to sweat! The strong have said to themselves, "We shall eat bread but the weaker ones shall sweat for it." This is how man has striven to get round the problem.

If we study history we shall find it replete with instances after instances of civilizations based on the above attitude to work. Such civilizations had risen to some splendour for a while but the inevitable curse reduced them to ashes sooner or later.

Function of Work.—The real purpose of work is to develop man's higher faculties, just as food builds and sustains the physical body. The body is composed of muscles, bones, blood, etc., so we need proteins to build the muscles, calcium to form bones, mineral salts to purify the blood and carbohydrates to provide the energy. Similarly work taken as a whole caters for the growth of reasoning, imagination, venturesomeness, accurate functioning of the nervous system, etc.

Milk is a wholesome food; but if we attempt to break it up into its component parts by squeezing some lime juice into it and with the casein that is deposited with the splitting of milk, we make *rasagola* and try to make that our staple food we shall die as the necessary elements of food are not there. We need all the constituent elements of food to sustain life. Even the roughage plays an important part. The man who tries to live only on the palatable sweets, ghee, etc., will die of overeating just as surely as the man, who has only the roughage, will die of malnutrition. Hence, for a healthy growth and life we have to take our food with all its constituent parts—carbohydrates, proteins, fats, salts and vitamins. Some of it will be sweet, some salty, some bitter, some sour and so on, but they all go to make a balanced diet for the body. Food has to be eaten in bulk and masticated well. A healthy adult cannot live by sipping *shar-bath*.

Analysis of Work.—When we analyse work we shall not find it a curse in itself. It has two important components—(1) the germ of growth, i.e., a creative element which makes for the development and happiness of the individual, and (2) toil or drudgery. Just as any seed may have the pericarp and the starch, and even as any balanced diet needs both the concentrates and the roughage to make it wholesome, work needs both its component parts to

enable one to benefit by it. As the saying goes, genius is one per cent inspiration and ninety-nine per cent perspiration. Without the perspiration or toil the inspiration cannot become effective. The toil part of work is essential to enable one to grow through work. We have to take work as a whole and not divide it up into its constituent elements, trying to avoid the sweating part of it. We need the ninety-nine per cent of perspiration to get even the one per cent of inspiration. No musician can aspire to be able to produce music merely by listening passively to radio music. By the ordeal of practising, hour after hour, day after day, from year in to year out, he has to exercise his fingers and co-ordinate his ears to the sounds produced. Only then he can cultivate his faculty of music. There is no short-cut to any real art, science or culture. Yet people have been striving for short-cuts and have ended in disaster.

Violence and Death.—Before a person becomes a scientist he has to labour for years in a laboratory and cultivate a sense of smell which will appreciate sulphurated hydrogen ! These are inevitable. Therefore, there can be growth only when the pleasurable part of work is combined with the toil. One who seeks to avoid drudgery will not gain by the pleasurable part only. Though one may enjoy it for a time, one will begin to deteriorate after a while.

When properly used, work itself functions as an outlet to the personality of the individual ; it gives expression to that which is highest in man and develops his faculties. Whatever ideals, principles or religion a man may adhere to, are reflected in his everyday work. The reaction on the individual is, perhaps, much more important than the work done because it goes to develop human personality and thereby contributes to human progress.

Whenever we interfere with the course of nature, we generate friction, which in the moral sphere we call sin, in the physical sphere we know it as violence, which causes pain and death. The man who polishes rice and removes the nature ordained bran, etc., suffers from the terrible disease beri-beri and dies. Similarly, the one who attempts to split work will come to grief and lose his higher faculties.

The Empires.—Naturally, the toil part of work being unpleasant, human nature being what it is, there is always an attempt to avoid it or shift it on to someone else. But as no one is willing to take on drudgery for what it is, it becomes necessary to use coercion. If we set out merely to enjoy life, we shall have to force someone else to take up the toil part of work at the threat of the taskmaster's whip. Western nations made no attempt to overcome this divorce of the pleasurable germ from the drudgery part of work. The strong have always attempted to divide work and allocate the heavy part to the worker and retain to themselves the higher and the more pleasant part. They definitely set out to glorify the pleasures of life which in itself involves the enslavement of others. It was on such a philosophy of work that the ancient empires of Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome worked, shifting the unpleasant part of activity, by which pleasure can be had, on to the captives made into slaves. By depriving masses of men of their freedom, such empires flourished for a while and disappeared. By misappropriating land, feudal barons enjoyed while the serfs laboured. By devising the money nexus, the capitalist wielded power over labour. By securing political power through violence, one nation dominated over the other weaker nations, exploiting the latter's resources. In this way, division of work has led to violence and destruction.

The whole of this system is based on violence. Without violence, no nation will find it possible to shift its toil to other nations and convert them into "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

According to Aristotle, slavery was ordained by nature. Work devoid of its opportunity for self-expression becomes drudgery, and slavery is the result. In consequence, the civilization of Greece and Rome regarded work as evil. In the measure in which a man could free himself from work or heavy toil, he gained social status. Slaves were ordained by nature to toil away. Under such ideals these civilizations collapsed. We still find the same viewpoint on work projected into the economic organization of the West.

By depriving man of his primeval possession—personal freedom—the slave empires held sway. By dispossessing man of his most elementary instrument of production—land—the feudal empires flourished. By the invisible power of finance, man was shorn of all his faculties and was reduced to live by the exercise of his muscles—as a beast of burden—under modern capitalistic empires, and violence has been enthroned at the centre of all human economic activity.

Types of Work.—We may divide our daily activities into three kinds :—

1. Exertion under external order.
2. Exertion for its own sake
3. Exertion with a self-chosen purpose.

The first form is slavery and saps the vital energy of human life. The second form is one in which there is physical development or pleasure, as in games and play, but it is in the third that we find true work with an aim which leads to the development of the higher faculties in man.

Slavery.—If work for work's sake were good, then, indeed, slavery would be goodness itself in "pill form". What is then wrong with slavery? Initiative and interest are taken away and this leads to decay of personality. Thus the seed of mental development is sterilised. All that is left is pure drudgery. In its proper place toil is no evil, but by itself it is a drag. Just as for good digestion we need a good deal of roughage, we need 90 or 95% of toil to get the best out of work, and just as if we eat only the roughage and no food our stomachs will suffer and life may become extinct, so also if we have only drudgery and no initiative, all progress will be at an end and society will die. The toil of slavery is not work but drudgery, and hence it spells death. If we give drudgery to the masses, as is done under the methods of large scale production, there is nothing but social death awaiting us. The irksomeness in slavery is largely due to external compulsion having taken the place of willing co-operation or personal initiative. We have seen that the first type leads to deterioration and death and, therefore, taking into consideration the wear and tear of human life, slavery is the most extravagant form of labour.

Status.—In a predatory stage, work is looked down upon. A person is regarded clever if he can acquire the greatest amount of material gain by putting forth the least amount of exertion. Physical work is certainly at a discount. It is because of this approach that exploitation has gained ground. The mentally alert, in order to save themselves from work, have loaded it over the less assertive ones whom they have forced to work for them. Further, in this stage, work is looked upon as a means of acquiring wealth. Wealth in its turn is not sought after for the means of providing the primary needs of life but for the acquisition of control over the lives of other

men or, in other words, for power. The Western methods of production lead to concentration of power, and that is an unflinching proof that work in the West is misdirected into wrong channels. It does not matter whether the concentrated power is used for good or evil. If the means are bad, the ends cannot justify them.

Both under capitalism and under communism, work aims at or results in concentration of power. In capitalism power is concentrated in the hands of the capitalist and in communism in the hands of the few who run the state. Workers under such circumstances exist to work; man is regarded as made for work and he ends up by becoming a slave. Work devoid of initiative and interest is slavery. One labours, and someone else gets the power one's labour generates. Such work saps the life of man, and leaves him exhausted at the end of the day. This is the part played by work in all so-called industrially advanced countries of the world today. The working man functions as "dumb driven cattle." All initiative is taken out of him; he becomes a cog-wheel in the economic machinery. With the deprivation of initiative, he loses interest and all sense of responsibility. He ceases to think, and the more he gets into the meshes of the powerful, the less the resisting power he possesses to escape from the disaster awaiting him.

Play.—We need not dwell long on the second type. It is essential within limits. Play has its place in a well-ordered life, but if it assumes the place of a main objective in life, then, "all play and no work will make Jack a dull boy." The lower strata of ancient Greece and Rome were slaves and passed out of existence as animals do. The higher strata of society took to play and amusement and they developed physically but met with ultimate destruction, morally and spiritually.

Wholesome work provides our body with energy, health and rest, just as a well balanced diet does. It provides bodily exercise while affording, at the same time, opportunities for mental development and satisfaction. The modern tendency, however, is to avoid the discipline work involves, passing it all on to one class of society which is helpless, reserving to the dominant class all the pleasurable consequences of work. It is sought to distil out the component parts of work to this end and then the bodily exercise alone in a pleasurable form, without the drudgery part of work, is obtained in pill form in games like golf, tennis, cricket, hockey, football, etc., which are all naturally expensive luxuries beyond the reach of the poor.

Truncating work in this manner is like the way they manage on ocean liners to provide the muscles with the kind of movements they are accustomed to on land, in games and hobbies which for obvious reasons cannot be indulged in on a boat. On such liners the gymnasiums are equipped with machines which provide the substitutes for horse-riding, boating, etc. The horseman bestrides a saddle on a mechanical horse and holding the reins switches on the electric contraction into a "trot" or a "gallop". The saddle gives the semblance of jerks one gets on a horseback on land although here the rider has no live spirited animal under him. Similarly, there are oars for the boating enthusiast to pull away at, seating himself at a bench and kicking his feet on to a rest. The oars are provided with springs to give the resistance of water. Here we have horse-riding and boating bereft of the natural pleasures attendant on them on land—the scenery, the pleasure of movement through the air and over water. For a few days for the duration of the voyage, such contrivances will answer the purpose but they cannot

be substitutes for all time for the natural counterparts. Thus is work broken up into its component parts, into routine and play, and some people are relegated for all time to do the hard routine, and a few appropriate to themselves the play part of it.

When work is so divided without the balancing factor, the routine becomes drudgery and the play part becomes indulgence. Both are equally detrimental to human progress and well-being. The slave dies of privation and the lord of over-indulgence. These efforts which have been made repeatedly through the ages have adequately demonstrated over and over again their impotency to lead man to his maturity. In our own generation this attempt to secure the pleasures apart from the discipline has let loose on humanity the wolves of war, pestilence, famine and death. Are we not to cry 'halt' and take note?

Culture.—When work is thus divided up, all our faculties are not receiving a balanced nourishment, with the result the culture of a nation does not develop. Work does not only produce material results by its action but it also reacts on the worker himself which latter is perhaps the more important contribution of work, though it is the less in evidence. A child works out an arithmetical problem on a slate. Which is more important—the figure written on the slate or the mental exercise the child has had? We may erase the work on the slate but the effect on the child, though unseen, is the more lasting and permanent. Similarly, a carpenter designs and carves out a table. The table, though a thing of beauty, may be burnt while the development of the skill of the carpenter is a contribution to human progress. When he works to supply the needs of a community, he reacts to the sense of art or beauty

of his customers. This mental interaction between the producer and the customer results in the culture of a nation. Therefore, when work is divided up into its constituents, placing an unbridgeable gulf between the producer and the consumer, there can be no culture.

Cultural Work.—It is only in this type that we find man at his best. What builds our character is not the great decisions of life, but the solutions we come to on small questions from day to day. Work absorbs most of our waking hours, and many of the problems connected with work and our dealings with our fellowmen are what determine the nature of our life. Therefore, it behoves us to sit up and make note of what our work makes of us.

If we analyse world history correctly, we shall find that civilizations were what they were because of the nature of the economic life of the people. Religion may have infused ideals, but work was the laboratory in which they were tried out. Therefore, work can play a much wider part in the development and growth of a nation than institutional or ceremonial religion, and yet how much conscious thought do leaders bestow on this formidable force?

Properly directed, work affords facilities for the development of patience, perseverance, initiative, creativeness and originality and with it self-confidence, a sense of responsibility, accuracy and eye for detail and fine finish. Work is indeed a school for life. What food is to the body, that work is to the faculties of man.

In both capitalism and communism, or as a matter of fact, in all large-scale production, the worker becomes a mere hand where head and heart are hardly exercised. In such economic organizations, culture has to be acquired outside work

so far as this is possible. Psychologically, this is an altogether artificial way of introducing culture into people who have been deprived of it through the natural channel of work. If this is to be rectified and work be made a means of obtaining culture, or, in other words, a means of developing one's personality in all its three aspects of intelligence, character and artistic sense, then, it is obvious that work cannot be planned and dictated from the centre, but must be decentralised. In this undertaking of settling work back in its rightful place, the greatest difficulty is to overcome the ideas that have been instilled into the people by a false system of education inculcating wrong standards of value. Inventions reflect the mental attitude with which problems are approached. In the last two centuries, machinery has been so devised as to concentrate power. We have to discountenance the use of such aids to production, but in time we hope to substitute these by such tools as will lessen toil without concentrating power.

A greater achievement will be to combat the prevailing idea of work and instil into the peoples' mind that work must have as its end the well-being of the worker.

In work of the type ordained by nature, there is little use for so-called leisure. People will find it much easier to spend their time working under congenial conditions than to use leisure profitably. To use leisure properly, one has to have a high degree of self-discipline which is one of the valuable products of true work. If in the course of our daily work we get ample room for the expression of our personality, then, there will be no need for leisure. Of course there will be physical weariness which is healthy and which needs repose and relaxation in sleep and rest.

The moment we shift the emphasis from men to the material, we lose sight of the true function of work. If in a training institution young men spend their efforts in handling planes, hammer and chisel, they may waste wood but they are developing their muscles and skill. On the other hand, if they are made to feed sawing machines and to use their time in producing fine furniture by elaborate machinery, the emphasis is on material gain and not on the training. Is finely carved and finished furniture more important than the skill of the young men?

If we would save man from being degraded into a beast or an automaton, we have to face this situation and find a solution, wherein work will cease to be a means of concentrating wealth and power but will become a means of distributing wealth. If this is achieved, there will not be the meteoric careers of millionaires but we shall have a few more annas put into the pockets of the starving millions. This will increase the real wealth of the nation even if the money value be the same. If one lakh of rupees be concentrated in the hands of one person, the utility of that amount to the person who possesses it is as nothing as compared to the utility of the same one lakh, if it were distributed among one hundred thousand poor people and found them their daily bread. Today all work is directed towards producing the articles by which the largest profits can be made rather than to meeting man's primary requirements. Therefore, the poor man's needs are forgotten while there is a glut in the rich man's luxuries.

The idea that production should aim at supplying the needs of the worker, rather than at acquiring wealth or power, is what underlies the programme of self-sufficiency which concentrates its attention on industries that meet the primary needs

of the people such as the production of articles of food, clothing and shelter.

From this point of view, any wrong use of work is sin and causes sorrow. Western organizations have looked upon work as a means of accumulating wealth, i.e., gathering in the available purchasing power from everybody to obtain control over the lives of men. This has naturally led to jealousies and violence. Can anything else be expected? Unless we bestir ourselves and restore work to its proper place and man to his natural dignity and allow work to develop the masses, there is little hope of finding persons who will be able to bear responsibility and steer the helm of state to peace and prosperity.

Fatigue.—If only we can detach ourselves from the turmoil of the modern world, we shall see clearly the havoc caused by this unnatural organization. If the urge is from within, his work should leave the worker a better man. Nature has so planned it that we improve by working, if our work follows the natural order. For example, if a person who has the talents of an artist is made to drive a car, it will be disastrous to the occupants of that car. He will only attain his full height if he is allowed to follow his natural inclination. We can tell by the effect work produces on a person if he is in his proper place. But when we look at the factory workers today, what do we find? Are they better human beings for their toil? On the contrary, we find a set of men and women whose life and energy have been sapped. The diagnosis is simple. There is a parasite feeding on their lives. They suffer from nervous disorders. Therefore, their method is unnatural and must lead ultimately to decay and destruction.

Division of Labour.—No one will dispute the benefits to be obtained from division

of labour which makes for specialization and efficiency. In our land, such specialization has held sway since time immemorial and it has even gone to seed having become hereditary and caste-bound. Such an extreme has also led to difficulties and to a blind alley.

Under the plea of a wholesome division of labour, Western industrialists have broken up work into minute processes in such a way that work and drudgery have become synonymous terms associated with all the undesirable qualities of a curse.

Work to be healthy and beneficial to the worker himself, apart from all considerations of the product, should have diversion and variety in sufficient measure, in every sub-divided unit of it, to prevent its becoming a strain on the nerves. There is, therefore, a limit beyond which division of labour cannot go without impugning its claims to wholesomeness.

The sub-divided unit must be as near a whole industry in itself as it possibly can be and not be reduced to a mere process of an industry. For instance, if carpentry is to be sub-divided, it may well be into wheel-wrights and oil-mill makers. These two are highly skilled departments, each affording full scope for all the faculties of the artisans. The products also are complete marketable units. Instead of this, if these crafts were further sub-divided into makers of spokes and felloes for the wheels on the one hand, and into hewers of wood on the other, it would be verging on drudgery. In leather craft, shoe-making or even specializing in chappals can be a healthy unit, while the mere cutting out of pieces of leather for the soles or the uppers of shoes cannot stand by itself as a healthy sub-division. In modern factories, such division of work into its minute

processes has gone to such an extent as to limit a man's operation and attention to driving a nail or screwing on a nut. To repeat such actions for eight hours a day, for 300 days in the year, is enough to cause nervous strain which will send the worker to the mad house, whatever may be the wages offered. Is it any wonder that in the most industrialised country in the world, in the U.S.A., more people suffer from nervous disorders than from all other forms of ailments? Man's constitution is not an inanimate machine. His system calls for a balance of operations which will exercise all his faculties. This condition can only be ensured by a wide enough unit of work.

Too small units, which are merely processes, are highly wasteful of man-power as it puts workers out of action in a short time. A hardworking labourer is made a wreck by the time he reaches 45 years of age. But this wastage is shifted from the manufacturer to society, by the wage system, rendering it possible for the industrialist to flourish in spite of this great loss in man-power. The employer is totally unconcerned with the destruction his system of work causes. If one of his workers breaks down, he is immediately discharged and a more youthful one is taken on. There is no love lost. The employer thinks no more of dispensing with a man who has wrecked his life in his service than of throwing away a smoked bit of a cigar. If anything, in casting off such worn-out persons, he stands to gain as the younger man may bring in more energy at lower wages. There is no liability attaching to the employer for so drawing the life out of his men. Is this not a callous waste of human faculties and life? Any slightly higher wage, such workers may appear to enjoy, is but the realization or cashing in of the

present value of their life after 45 years of age.

An excessive emphasis laid on wages, the product of the maintenance of a complex standard of life, ignoring the higher faculties of man, deprives man of the use of his free-will and distorts his scale of values.

Under such circumstances, the labourer's condition and work are like that of a bullock that drives an oil-mill. The bullock being blindfolded does not see where or how it goes. Being controlled by its nose-string, which is not even guided by a man but is only fixed to the machine itself, the animal turns eternally to the left walking round and round all day within a circumscribed area getting nowhere by its movement. No doubt, the oil-presser gives it a little oil-cake, with a complacent feeling of generosity, out of the lot that is made by the bullock's toil during the day. Our mill-hands fare no better. The joy of life and the healthy atmosphere of freedom are not for them. They are deprived of all opportunities of growth and development. This is not work as designed by nature. Hence, it can only bring to the workers ruin and decay of their higher faculties. No money-wage can compensate for that loss.

Leisure.—While the manufacturers thus attempt to avoid for themselves toil and appropriate only the play and pleasure of work, our socialist friends dream of scooping out leisure from work. Properly understood, work of the right sort contains leisure or period of rest within itself. Leisure is an integral part of work just as rest is an essential component of a musical note. The two cannot be taken apart. Leisure is not a complete cessation of all activities. That will be death. Neither is leisure idle time. Idleness leads to

deterioration. Beneficial leisure provides rest to one faculty, while other parts of our personality are being exercised. A mental worker at his desk needs an active hobby like gardening to form a complement to the nervous strain caused by desk work. Any work to fulfil its proper function as ordained by nature, and not mutilated by man, must contain these complementary parts in itself.

Once I was discussing this aspect of work with an experienced engineer. He remarked that he could not conceive how there can be work and rest at the same time. To explain this theoretically it may be difficult, but to demonstrate it is easy, and so I suggested he should visit any artisan and analyse the proposition himself. He accepted this suggestion and took me to a school-master who eked out his living by making caps and requested me to point out wherein lay leisure and wherein diversion or rest in the making of caps.

The school-master, on being asked to show us how he set about the task of making a cap, brought out his work basket, took a piece of plush-like material and cut out an oval shaped piece. Then taking some red coloured lining-cloth cut out also a similar piece. To this he attached some pieces of old newspaper and stitched some floral designs with the sewing machine, and then sewed this on to the plush top. After that with punches he fixed some eyelets to serve as ventilating holes on the top of the cap. While the master was busy with his manifold operations, I was explaining to the engineer that the obtaining of the raw material presented certain problems for the master to solve in international trade as the plush came from Italy and the red lining cloth from Japan. I also pointed out that when the master was occupied with the cutting operations with

his scissors, one faculty of his was functioning, when he was sewing on the floral design, the artistic faculty and when he was punching on the eyelets for ventilators, still another part of his nervous system was called into action, diverting his energies from the artistic employment of faculty which was now having its rest.

While we were talking about these matters, the master's little child cried in the backyard of the house. Promptly, the master got up, left his work, ran to the child and picking it up scolded his wife roundly for allowing the child to cry while visitors were in the house. While the master was having the unholy row with his spouse, I said to the engineer, "There, now he is having his diversion, relaxation and recreation." The engineer burst out into a laughter and got up to go saying, "I fully grasp your meaning."

Life, when, it is allowed to run its natural course, is resourceful enough to provide for itself all it needs without any further conscious effort on our part.

Such then is work and its function in life. It makes it possible for man to use his faculties and develop himself during his own life-time and leave behind him his personality indelibly stamped on the product of his work that which is the best part of him.

An artist transfers his sense of beauty to a piece of canvas and leaves behind a masterpiece for posterity to cherish and admire. While the artist was dabbing bits of paint on to the canvas it must have seemed hard work, drudgery of days and days. But such labour had to go into the making of a masterpiece. A lithograph may avoid such drudgery and hard work, but its products are as waste-paper when compared with the work of the real artist.

Even before the work of the picture is launched on, hours of hard work were necessary for the skilful mixing of paints and blending of colours. The colours used at the Ajanta Caves must have taken decades to evolve to have attained such perfection as to have lasted all these many centuries. The artists of those times did not grudge the labour on it; and posterity pays its obeisance to them for their peerless gift. Those artists did not devise ways and means of obtaining the effect without the labour involved. Nature is a hard taskmaster. It never awards perfection to grudgingly rendered work. If we wish to attain perfection, we must put whole work. No time serving labour, which satisfies only the passing moment, will answer the purpose. Nature refuses to be browbeaten or cheated.

Similarly, a beautiful emblem of devoted labour has been bequeathed to generations yet unborn by those creators who hewed out of living rock the whole edifice of a temple at Ellora. The sense of proportion and symmetry are not the result of an attempt to shirk work nor the outcome of seeking short-cuts so as to avoid labour. It is the product of an opportunity squarely faced. Labour, properly directed, blesses those who work and also the products of their labour.

To give but one more example of faithful work well done, there is a steel pillar near the Kutub Minar at Delhi bearing an ancient inscription. This pillar has stood in the open, exposed to sun and rain, heat and cold, for centuries on end, yet, there is not a speck of rust on it. The composition of this alloy has confounded the best of modern metallurgists. The iron-smiths of old who cast this wonderful pillar did not seek any shortcuts to produce this effect. They did not shirk the routine labour and discipline involved

in manufacturing such metal. They took work as nature meant it to be. Hence, we have this monument declaring that fact to us today. Thus does work confer immortality on faithful labour.

If we are to derive full benefit from work, as designed by nature, we have to keep, as close as we can, to the simple original form of work without dividing it up into its ineffective parts.

Drudgery.—The unpleasant part of work is not necessarily drudgery. What makes for drudgery is the lack of interest in work. The same operations may be drudgery to one and a soul-absorbing work to another. To a paid gardener his digging up the flower beds or watering them may be drudgery, but to the garden-lover such work will provide the outlet for his sense of beauty. To the woman whose heart is in dance, tea and cocktail parties, looking after her child will be drudgery, while to the lover of the home, the child provides the pivot round which her universe will revolve. Some claim that drudgery may be done away with by resorting to machine production. In fact, machines are the tools with which work is split up into its component parts, making it impossible for the labourers to take an intelligent interest in their operations. Hence, such machines create drudgery. A man detailed out to perform but one operation all the 8 hours of the day has the quintessence of drudgery. In jails, where the philosophy of work is pure and simple punishment, even artistic work such as carpet-weaving is reduced to drudgery.

Then how can we dispense with drudgery? Only by creating an interest in the work and not by resorting to machinery. A farmer, who has been educated to realise the social aspect of his contribution and is

enabled to see in every furrow he makes the formation of life-giving channels which will carry food and hope to starving fellow-men, will take pleasure and pride in the role he plays in society and thus obtaining satisfaction to his soul will put his heart into his work. No tractor can do that. This is the only way to counteract drudgery.

Self-sufficiency.—Our study of work, so far, shows that splitting work into its component parts leads to maldistribution of wealth and power and results in violence which crystallise in the forms of slavery, serfdom, capitalism, imperialism, etc. The introduction of the machine has only intensified the evil. Therefore, the salvation lies in a community providing wholesome work to its constituent elements and by that means it will not only obtain its material requirements but will also be building up a culture all its own. The small units of work will enable its workers to comprehend the full implications of their activity and thus dispel drudgery.

Basic Education.—It may not be out of place at this stage to point out in passing that the element of work, which contributes to the growth of personality and the formation of culture, is the creative and educative part of work. When we yoke the education of children to this aspect of work we evolve what is come to be known as the Basic Education.

Today, by the process of industrialisation and standardisation, an over-emphasis is placed on material production ignoring the fact that work is essential not merely to provide our material needs but also to direct our personality and character in desired channels. By this omission human progress is being checked. We may be gaining the whole material world, but we are undoubtedly losing our soul. Is it not time we called a halt and took stock and adjusted our mode of living and working to cultivate that which is highest and noblest in us, instead of rushing headlong in the pursuit of momentary pleasures and ending our days as mere animals?

THE VEIL OR THE 'PARDAH'

G. M. D. SUFI

Part I

Today the social position of women is undergoing a fundamental change. A very definite protest endorsed by men and women leaders is being made against the old regime of social segregation. As a result, in some places, the veil or the *pardah* is being slowly lifted. The teaching of the Qur'an is that a woman should not invite admiration of her appearance. The rigidity and complexity of the veil or the *pardah* are beyond any Islamic injunction. In the following discussion the author maintains that it is untrue that this system began with Islam for it existed long, long before the advent of Islam.

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A great deal of controversy has raged round the veil or the *pardah* among Musalmans. A simple matter of social etiquette has been given the importance of a cardinal principle of Islam. Divines and diplomats have issued their decrees. In India the poet Akbar of Allahabad, in an oft-repeated couplet of his, invested it with a philosophy which gave supreme satisfaction to the old school of orthodox Muslims who quoted the couplet in defence of their orthodox attitude to the veil against the so-called folly of the modernist movement towards social reform among Indian Muslims :—

"Yesterday some ladies were seen unveiled;

Akbar got buried in the ground on account of national shame.

When asked : what happened to their veil ?

They replied that it had shrouded the wisdom of men."

But Akbar himself realized that the *pardah* was not to last long when he said :—

"It is said, Akbar is the protagonist of the *pardah*,

But how long, he, and how long his quatrains will be ?"

History of the Veil.—The° history of the veil in the world is not easy to trace.

The existing encyclopaedias in English have either not dealt with it at all, or, at best, only superficially. For instance, *A Cyclopaedia of Education*, edited by Dr. Paul Monroe and published in 1913, does not mention the veil. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings and published in 1915, is altogether silent. So is the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, edited by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, published as late as June 1935. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, 1929-1932, has not even four complete lines of its half page column (Vol. 18, p. 776) on this subject. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, published in 1927, has less than 40 lines (p. 300) mostly dealing with *Hijab* and *Kashf* of the mystics of Islam. The *Historians' History of the World* (1907) does not mention it even in its index. All that the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (edition 1905, p. 406), says is that "from the earliest times, it has been a sign of chastity and decency in married women to cover their faces with veils in the presence of strangers. The putting on of the veil marked the transition from girlhood to womanhood. Rebekah, the bride, covered herself with a veil on meeting Isaac, the groom. A widow did not wear a veil. The custom of dressing the virgin bride with a veil is mentioned in the *Mishnah*" (which is a part of the *Talmud*, the Rabbanical thesaurus reduced to writing during the second, fourth and sixth centuries of the Christian era).

There does not appear to be any book specially written on the subject. Stray references may be found here and there, but no substantial, satisfactory statement is forthcoming which should serve as a guide to one who wants to study this question. Sir John A. Hammerton says that the veil is "unquestionably bound up with the mysteries of marriage rites, the evil eye, and the seclusion of women," and marriage and the evil eye are as old as humanity itself.

It is, however, quite wrong to say that the *pardah* or the veil in the world began with Islam. The veil existed long before the advent of Islam, in the form of the seclusion or segregation of women, or indeed in the shape of the additional *ghunghat* in Aryavarta. "It is, of course, untrue that Islam brought the *pardah* system into this country," writes N. C. Metha.¹ "Seclusion of women can be traced in all ancient communities, and it was particularly rigid among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. It is, perhaps, truer to say that Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hall-mark of gentility." According to the Buddhist texts, Dr. Bimla Churn Law writes: "It is interesting to note that the *Pardah* system existed in Ancient India. So far we have been under

the impression that the *Pardah* system was never in vogue in Ancient India and that the Mohammedans are largely responsible for the origin of this system. But we are in the wrong. That this system existed in India long before the advent of the Mohammedans in this country is attested by a passage in the *Dhammapadatthakatha* (Vol. I, p. 190). The passage runs thus: 'tasmin pana nakkhatte bahi anikkhamanakkakuladhitaro'pi attano parivarena saddhim padasa va nadim gantva nahayanti.' It is quite apparent from this passage that women observed strictly the *Pardah* system, though, occasionally there was relaxation, as for example, when bathing in the river under the constellation of stars. This is also the case with women in orthodox families in Bengal."² Dr. A. S. Altekar says that the "*pardah* was confined to a very small section of the ruling classes down to the 10th century A.D."³ And this is before the Muslims came to India from the Northwest.

Woman in China was restricted to the house and shut off from association with men, and little care was expended on her education. Footbinding in China was "a symbol of the seclusion and suppression of woman" "...Actually footbinding was sexual in its nature throughout," writes Lin Yutang (*My Country and My People*,

1 Mehta, N. C., *Contribution of Islam to Indian Culture*, pp. 11-12.

2 *The Social, Economic and Religious Conditions of Ancient India according to the Buddhist Texts*, (Dr. K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume—Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 7), p. 72.

3 Altekar, A. S., *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Benares Hindu University, 1938, p. 203.

4 In the almost secret city of Teng Yueh, in the Yunnan Province especially, is this practice religiously carried on from the moment a baby girl is born. Women in these parts can no more walk today than could their grandmothers when footbinding was general, nay compulsory, among the Chinese aristocracy throughout China years ago.

The authorities frown most severely on foot-binding, but neither their frowns nor threats apparently penetrate into the old city of Teng Yueh where the 20,000 citizens live behind a stone wall over thirty feet high and where no road exists; and where it takes nearly three days to travel by chair to the nearest road which leads to the modern south—a trip which few of the women of Teng Yueh have made or ever could make with their useless, crippled feet.—*The Times of India*, Bombay, 3rd August, 1939.

1939, p. 158). "Its origin was undoubtedly in the courts of licentious kings, its popularity with men was based on the worship of women's feet and shoes as a love fetish and on the feminine gait which naturally followed, and its popularity with women was based on their desire to curry men's favour."⁵ Polygamy in China is permitted but is not frequently practised. A Chinese bride is purchased from her parents by the bridegroom with a bridal gift.

It has been a fashion to hold up Ancient Greece as the highest example of people devoted to democracy, art, literature and philosophy and every virtue in European culture is attributed to them, almost completely suppressing every statement about subsequent Islamic contribution to European culture and science, as if Ancient Greece was peopled by Sophocles and Pericles alone. But apart from the heroic age when the position of women is depicted as rosy everywhere in the world, the historic age of women in Ancient Greece was miserable indeed. In the *Thesmophoriasusae* (lines 789-795) of Aristophanes (c. 448-385 B. C.), the great comic dramatist and poet of Athens, women speak themselves: "If we are an evil, why do you marry us, and allow us neither to go out, nor to be caught looking from the windows, and insist on guarding the evil with so much care? And if a woman goes out and you find her before the door, you get into a rage, whereas you ought to be pleased and bring a thank offering if you were really rid of the evil and did not find her sitting there any more when you came home. Then, when we take a peep out of the window, every man wants to look at the evil, and when one blushes and draws in one's head, they all want all the more to see the evil peep

out." Even on occasions when fear and necessity would break through conventional restrictions, we find the women going no farther than the door of the house, and the orator Lycurgus actually complains because after the battle of Chaeronea, the women inquired after the fate of their own menfolk from their door-ways. Walking in the street was made a very difficult matter even for married women.⁵ Cornelius Nepos said: "The Greek woman does not appear at dinner except among relations; she stays in the inner part of the house where no one is admitted but her nearest kinsmen." Women were kept strictly to the task of clothing and cleaning and used in the routine matters of eating and drinking. It was generally the father who chose a wife for his son, looking less to her person than to her family and dowry. The father had to dower his daughter appropriately, in order to place her with a husband, and so the daughter often appeared as a burden to the family. Plutarch writes of a law of Solon which, he thinks, was "very dishonest and fond." It resembles the *Niyoga* of Manu (800 B.C.). "If any man," according to this law of Solon (638-559 B.C.), "has matched with a rich heir and inheritor, and if himself is impotent, and unable to do the office of a husband, she may lawfully lie with any, whom she liketh, of her husband's nearest kinsmen."⁶

Under the Republic, the ideal Roman matron was one who ruled the house and the female slaves with dignified kindness, bore children and brought them up to serve the state well, and proved a true helpmeet in the home to her husband. Assiduity in spinning was a time-honoured virtue in the Roman matron. Roman women ordinarily were not sufficiently educated to prove true partners

⁵ *The Historian's History of the World*, London: The Times, 1907, Vol. III, pp. 475-76.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

to their husbands and men preferred the society of brilliant women of looser morals.⁷

Towards the end of the Republic, "already exhausted by premature indulgence, when they were married while young from motives of convenience, the Romans were found incapable of guiding and elevating their still more neglected consorts. The women were never associated in their husbands' occupations, knew little of their affairs, were less closely attached to their interests than even their bondmen. They seldom partook of their recreations, which accordingly degenerated for the most part into debauches. Systematically deprived of instruction, the Roman matron was taught indeed to vaunt her ignorance as a virtue. If in the first century B.C., these Sabine housewives were no longer to be found who shut themselves up in their apartments and spun wool among their handmaids, yet to exercise their intellects or cultivate their tastes passed almost for a crime."⁸ The men's indifference to the conduct of their spouses is a frightful feature in the social aspect of the times. The laws which gave them such facility of divorce show how little regard they had for the dearest interests of the married state.

To re-state the situation briefly in the words of Cornelius Nepos, Greek women were not admitted to any feasts except those of relatives, and lived in an inner part of the house (called *gynaekonitis*, i. e., the women's quarters), which no one entered unless they were close relatives. Nepos contrasted the liberty allowed to Roman women with that

denied to women in Greece; but it is worth pointing out that the Romans regarded as the ideal wife *Bona Dea*, whose face, while she was on earth, was seen by no man but her husband.

As late as 1697, the Jewesses of Metz (the capital of Moselle department, East France, situated on the Moselle river, and having a population of 78,000) were forbidden to appear in the synagogue unveiled.⁹ The women sat, not in the galleries as is now the custom, but at the back, screened by curtains, or at the side in their own rooms. Here, at their own prayer meetings, the women were led by precentors of their own sex. "Men and women shall neither rejoice nor mourn together" was the Jewish saying, and even young children played only with their own sex.

Mezokovesd, in Western Hungary, is inhabited by a people called Matyok who are a branch of the Palocz race. The Matyok cling to their ancestral customs with the utmost tenacity. Among them, the separation of the sexes is very marked. The young girls do not mix with men at all and, when they attend church, have a separate service to themselves.¹⁰

The custom of separating the sexes is found in almost every relation of life. In the domain of religion especially, it is by no means uncommon. In some religious communions, and in certain churches, it is usual for a separate portion of the sacred building to be set aside for each sex while divine service is in progress. Among the Saxons of Transylvania, for instance, the women always sit apart from the men in church.¹¹

7 Hammerton, J. A., editor, *Universal History of the World*, Vol. III, p. 1827.

8 *The Historians' History of the World*, London: The Times, 1907, Vol. V, pp. 482-83.

9 White, E. M., *Women in World History*, London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd., 1924, p. 187.

10 Hammerton, J. A., editor, *Manners and Customs of Mankind*, p. 344.

11 *Loc. cit.*

In the New Hebrides, the differentiation between the sexes is very sharply defined, the separation taking place at an extremely early age. A son is taken away from his mother as soon as possible after birth, and is sent to the men's compound, where he is brought up by his father. No woman is allowed in the men's compound. If a woman trespasses there, the penalty for this breach of rules is death. The women live in their own compound with the girl babies.¹²

In Albania, Roman Catholic girls are kept in great seclusion and usually go out veiled.¹³ Girls in Korea who belong to the higher classes live secluded lives after reaching the age of seven.¹⁴

In Early Islam.—We do not find seclusion of women in the early days of Islam. The first Muslims did not adopt the *pardah* or the veil for their women-folk in the way we see among Muslims in India. Maulana Shibli Nu'mani is of the opinion that the Arabs observed the *pardah* in the Jahiliyya and in the Prophet's time, but ends in quoting the *Aghani* that among the Beduins of Arabia men and women met and mixed together, and that on 'Id festivals women in their gala dress mixed with men.¹⁵ The Prophet seems to have had an aversion to the habit of men and women going about naked. Decency was a ruling passion of his life. Halima-tus-Sa'dia, his nurse, tells the story that, as a baby, he cried whenever he was undressed. Such manner of man was bound to enjoin that women should be

decently dressed and that they were not to use their beauty and sex to exploit their fellow creatures. And this is, as Halide Edib puts it, just what a modern feminist or any healthy society aims at. Verse 31 of the 24th Sura of the Qur'an, she points out, "commands women to pay due regard to their dress, enjoining them to wear veils that will cover sides of their head, their bosom, and their ornaments; there is no order to cover their faces, still less are they expected to shut themselves up and abstain from social activities."¹⁶

In the Muslim world of today, two very outstanding figures are Shaikh Mustafa al-Maraghi, Rector of Al-Azhar, Cairo, and the Hon'ble Maulana Muhyid Din Abu'l Kalam Azad of Calcutta. Both of them have declared the same view in their talk, the former in 1938 to Sayyid Husain, Lecturer in Indian History and Islamic Culture, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, U.S.A., and the latter, viz., Maulana Azad to me in 1935. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad 'Usmani, despite his extreme conservatism and strange deductions, has to declare that, undoubtedly in the whole range of Hadith that he has surveyed—and obviously there are not many in the Muslim world today who know more than he—"he has not come across a single tradition of the Prophet that prevents women from going out of the four walls of the houses."¹⁷

Shakeb Arslan, the well-known Syrian leader, in his articles, has made it clear that Islam does not enjoin veiling woman's

12 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 447.

15 Maulana Shibli Nu'mani, *Maqalat-i-Shibli (Religious)*, Azamgarh, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 105-22.

16 Halide Edib, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, New Delhi: Maktaba Jamia Milliyah Islamiyyah, 1935, p. 201. (Rosita Forbes, the intrepid talented world traveller, calls "Khalida Khanoun Edib, one of the two women I know," and "my favourite heroine, who played Joan of Arc to Turkey's first great President, Mustapha Kemal.")

17 *The Tarjuman-ul-Qur'an* for Rajjab, Vol. IX, p. 38.

face. He says, for centuries Muslim women availed themselves of the freedom of movement allowed by Islam, they went about transacting business and assisted men in important affairs.¹⁸

This is the rational view. This is the gradually prevailing view among the educated, thoughtful, liberal Musalmans almost anywhere on the surface of the globe. But their number is limited. The conservative, priest-ridden, custom-conforming Musalman is averse to reason, or to dispassionate inquiry. Any word about the veil anywhere in the Qur'an is sufficient to convince him of the necessity of the *pardah*. He is timid too, and naturally shy of initiative. There is yet another category. This class knows the advantage of discarding the veil, but dare not do it for fear of ostracism, perhaps also on account of increase of expense to their family budget, which it may not like or may not be able to afford.

According to the Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh and Ijma':—Perhaps, it would be best to see what the Qur'an, the Hadith, and the Fiqh, as also the Ijma', the four great sources of Islamic law, say on the subject, and then to discuss how the problem of discarding the veil can be faced and solved. Let us begin with the Qur'an. Before we proceed to pick out the relevant verses of the Qur'an, it may be stated that during the "Age of Ignorance"—the period preceding the advent of the Prophet Muhammad—the veil was used, that is to say, the faces of women, particularly those of the nobility in Arabia, were covered. In Yemen, in the south-west of Arabia, in the Himyar clan, not only women but men too covered their faces whenever they came out of their lodgings. But along with this, it is strange to find that women, gaily dressed and without least observing the veil, accompanied these men of the veil to the

'Ukaz Fair, the Olympic Fair of Arabia. Even today the Taureg or Tawarik called Mulaththimin (the people who wear the *litham* or the veil, and who carry on trans-desert trade of the Sahara of Africa and live in Central Sahara in Equatoria) move about with veils but their women, though Muslim, do not, at all, cover their faces. Dr. Bernhard Stern in the *Scented Garden* (New York, 1934) states that, in Ancient Arabia, men veiled their faces, if they were particularly beautiful to protect themselves against an evil glance. The 'Abbasids of Baghdad and the Fatimids of Egypt also covered their faces. The Sultan of Morocco does not go out with an uncovered face. The Emperor of China, it is also said, could not be seen. Whenever he came out, the guards turned their backs and dared not see him. It appears that the custom in Arabia varied. The women of the desert went about unveiled associating freely with men. Women in the cities were veiled.

Amongst the Quraish—the nobles of Arabia—veiling was, in general, the rule. The *Kitab al-Aghani* (VII. 174) states that the historian Fakihi records that in ancient Mecca the citizens used to dress their unmarried daughters and their female slaves in all their finery and parade them, with faces unveiled, around the Ka'ba in order to attract possible suitors and buyers. As Reuben Levy of Cambridge University mentions in his *Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, (Vol. I, pp. 176-77), possible reference to this very heathen custom is made in verses 32-33 of Chapter 33 of the Qur'an, when the Prophet's wives are bidden to remain in their houses and not go around in public decked out as in the time of Barbarism. Baidawi, the exegete, says that before the Prophet Muhammad, women were in the habit of adorning themselves with pearls and of

walking in the public highways, displaying themselves to men.

The old name of Medina, given to it by Egyptians, is Yathrib, written by Europeans as Athribis or Atrepe.¹⁹ As Yathrib was small and not well populated, there was little vogue of the veil, and women went about even without the head-covering which was the chief distinction between the "free" women and the bondmaid, the latter having no head cover whatever. Islam removed this distinction and equalized the rich and the poor in this respect by asking all to be dressed decently.

Until the third century of the Hijra and even later, women enjoyed with men the right to pray in the mosque. Caliph 'Umar is said to have appointed a Qur'an reader specially for them at public worship (Tabari, I, 2649). 'Atiqah bint Zaid, the wife of Caliph 'Umar, used to go to the mosque along with her husband. Caliph 'Umar did not relish this practice, but 'Atiqah insisted on her right and maintained it. Women were not required then to be veiled in the Indian fashion. The fact that Caliph 'Umar appointed a lady to superintend the market is an apt instance to the point.

In Harun-ur-Rashid's time, Arab maidens went to fight on horseback and commanded troops. Ladies held their own against men in culture and wit. The exalted position occupied by women under the Arab domination in Spain was noteworthy in that it gave them influence and invested them with importance. They enjoyed freedom. They appeared everywhere unveiled.²⁰ Public opinion not only permitted, but openly encouraged, their participation in

national and provincial contests for the palm of literary congresses, wherein they were forced to compete with the assembled genius and learning of the empire. Their features exposed to public gaze, they attended the lectures of the University and participated in academical exhibitions.

The kind of dress worn in early Islam consisted of at least two pieces—a chemise and a cloak for the upper part of the head and the body. The face, hands and the upper side of the feet need not be covered, though on the last detail, viz., the feet, there is some difference of opinion. Some interpreters of the Qur'an imposed upon all women what was laid down for the Prophet's own wives, justifying their action by the argument that, since it was laudable for men in all matters to follow the *Sunnah* or the practice of the Prophet, so, for women it was commendable to follow the custom of the Prophet's womenfolk, forgetting that re-marriage after the death of the Prophet was definitely tabooed in the case of the Prophet's wives, while other widows have to re-marry. Should one example be followed and the other discarded? Perhaps, the one suited man and the other did not, and in both cases man should benefit; he could marry a widow and also put his own wife under the seclusion of the *pardah*, and thus enjoy butter and jam on either side of the toast.

Perhaps, for these so-called interpreters of the Qur'an it was almost instinctive to do so. Most of them came from Iran where the *haram* system for the seclusion of women was well-established, having been copied from the Greeks with whom they had military clashes and

¹⁹ Yathrib is not Arabic but the Arabic word *thrb* meaning admonish, or slander, however evoked feelings of disgust and had to be changed to Madina. In fact, there are 25 or 26 names of Medina :—Tayabah, Tabah, 'Asimah, Shafiyah, Mahbubah, Marhumah, etc.

²⁰ Scott, S. P., *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, 1904, Vol. III, p. 654. (This history is obviously based on contemporary Arab histories, e. g., *Nafha-tut-Tib*).

marital contacts. The Eastern offsprings of the Greeks, the Byzantines, the other neighbours of the Arabs from the north, also cast their women into seclusion. The Byzantine ladies of high rank were practically chattels of their parents and their husbands, or were doomed to vows of celibacy for purposes of state. Even the life of the Byzantinian Empress passed in severe seclusion, the retinue of the eunuchs guarded the approaches to the Gynaecum—or women's apartments. Ameer Ali says that the Russians are said to have borrowed their *terem*—apartments to which women of rank were confined in ancient Russia—from the Byzantines. The nomadic herdsmen of Central Asia veiled the faces of their Shamanic—ancient idol-worshipping—priests and of their well-to-do ladies for fear of the magic influence emanating from the face. The *Jewish Encyclopaedia* states that Moses, when speaking to his people after he had come down from Mount Sinai, covered his face with a veil as his skin shone so brightly that the people feared to come nigh. It was not, therefore, unnatural for the Saracens to copy their neighbours on the east, on the north, and on the north-east, the south and the west being large seas—the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea.

For the impartial reader we shall now quote the Qur'an. The faithful translation²¹ of the relevant verses is as follows:—*Surah Ahzab* (The Clans, or the Allies, or the Confederates) revealed at Medina about the fourth of the Hijra, Chapter 33, Verse 32—"O ye wives of the Prophet, Ye are not like any other women. If Ye keep your duty (to Allah), then be not soft of speech lest he in whose heart is a disease aspire (to you), but utter customary speech." Verse 33: "And stay in your houses. Bedizen not yourselves with the

bedizenment of the Time of Ignorance. Be regular in prayer, and pay the poor-due, and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah's wish is but to remove uncleanness far from you, O folk of the Household, and cleanse you with a thorough cleansing."Verse 53: "And when ye ask of them (the wives of the Prophet) anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts. And it is not for you to cause annoyance to the Messenger of Allah, nor that ye should ever marry his wives after him. Lo, that in Allah's sight would be an enormity."

The *Surah Nur* (the Light) revealed at Medina in the fifth year of the Hijra, Chapter 24, Verse 30: "Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and be modest. That is purer for them. Lo, Allah is aware of what they do." Verse 31: "And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only *that which is apparent*, and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands, or fathers, or husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons or sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male attendants who lack vigour, or children who know naught of women's nakedness. And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal what they hide of their adornment. And turn unto Allah together, O believers, in order that ye may succeed."

The words italicized by me in verse 31 above, are debated upon among commentators, a very large number of whom throw the weight of their authority and the ability of their exposition on to the clause, *the face and hands*—and according to some also the feet—which, they aver, should be kept out of the veil. Among the

²¹ Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, 1930.

well-known authorities, Ibn Jarir (*Tabari* who died in 310 A.H.), Khazin, Bahr-al-Mubīt, Tafsir Jalalain (written by two Jalal-ud-Dins), the Hidayā and Kanz agree on this point, and hold that the face and the hands of women are not included in the parts of the body to be covered up. Among the distinguished 'Ulama, divines, and doctors, as the Patti (in Qasur, Punjab) pamphlet points out, Sa'id bin-J'abir, Hasan Basri, Zahrak, Awza'i, Shah Waliullah, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Ibn Rushd Maliki and others, have taken the same attitude. The hair, the ears, the chest, the forehead, the neck and the other parts of the body of the women must be covered as already stated. The Urdu translation of the Qur'an by Shah Rafi'ud-Din edited by Shah 'Abdul Qadir, the translation of the Qur'an by Shah Rafi'ud-Din edited by Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, (Publisher: Nur Muhammad, Jami' Masjid, Delhi, 1345 A.H.=1927 A.C., p. 500), the Urdu translation of the Qur'an by the late Shaikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Deoband, United Provinces, edited by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad 'Usmani (Madina Press, Bijnor, U.P., 1353 A.H., p. 564, marginal note), all explain this verse in the same way, viz., by excluding the face and the hands from the *pardah*.

Maulana Ashraf Ali and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad, however, qualify the meaning by adding :—'provided there is no risk of mischief.' Certainly there is no risk of mischief nowadays. There is no such risk to the womenfolk of Parsis, of Sikhs, of Indian Christians, of Jews, of Harijans, and of others. How could there be any risk to Muslims who have been the rulers of Bharat for centuries past? The late Maulana Ahmad Riza Khan of Bareilly, a well-known conservative divine, has expressed the same opinion. Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, Amir-i-Jama'at-i-Ahmad-

diyah, Lahore, Punjab, has expressed clearly that the face and the hands must be kept open. Maulavi Sanaullah (Amritsar, Punjab) of the Ahl-i-Hadith sect, is rather singular in holding the contrary view, viz., the face must also be concealed. Shams-ul-'Ulama' Maulana Nazir Ahmad of Delhi, has, however, evaded the issue. The Shia 'Ulama' hold along with the Hanafi 'Ulama' that the face and the hands of women are to be kept open.

Very often the Hadith (the Prophet's Tradition) is repeated about 'Abdullah ibn Umm Maktum, the blind crier of the call to prayer in the days of the Prophet. The Prophet, here, is represented, on the narration of Umm Salama, quoted by the Traditionalists Ahmad and Abu Sa'id, to have admonished Maimuna, a wife of the Prophet, for not having veiled herself before the blind man. Maimuna is represented naturally to rejoin that the veil was not needed in the presence of the blind man who could not see. The Prophet is, then, stated to have retorted that 'though the blind man could not see her, she could see the blind man. In a parrot-like repetition of this Tradition, conservative people forget that the blind man certainly could not be expected properly to clothe himself and may be exposing certain parts of his body quite unconsciously, the sight of which a woman naturally should avoid. According to the *Sahih Bukhari* (vide the Book on Marriage, chapter 78), we have the spectacle of a bride serving guests in the following words : "Abu-us-Sa'id al-Sa'idi invited the Messenger of Allah on the occasion of his marriage and his wife on that day served the guests and she was the bride." After the death of the Prophet, on one occasion, 'Aishah "deplores that if the Prophet had seen the condition of women today, he would not have

allowed them freedom to move about like the women of Israel." Could she say so, if there was any *pardah* in the Prophet's time? This is the greatest refutation of those who falsely say that the Prophet, in his latter days, advised the veil.²²

There are four sources of Islamic law:—the Qur'an, the Hadith, the Fiqh and the Ijma'-al-Umma or the consensus of opinion of the people of the faith. The Qur'an and the Hadith have been quoted. In regard to the Fiqh, the *Hidayah fil Furu* (or the Guide in Particular Points) composed by Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Marghinani (from Marghianan, a town of Farghana in Mavara-an-Nahr or Trans-oxiana) born about 530 A. H. (1135 A.C.) and died in 593 A.H. (1197 A.C.) claims priority of mention as the most standard work on Muslim jurisprudence of the Hanafi School. It leans to the doctrine of Imam Abu Hanifa and has the advantage of combining with the authorities the different opinions and explanations of the principal commentators on all disputed points together with reasons for preferring any one adjudication in particular. The late Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court of India and Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, in his preface to Chaghtai's *Qur'an and the Pardah*, has quoted, Book XIV, Chapter 4, clause (i) of the *Hidaya* which definitely clarifies the clause in question of the verse 31 of the Qur'an and states: "It is not lawful that men should see any part of the bodies of women except their face and hands. This permission goes so far only, as women have to do work. And this concerns their dealings with men. If these parts of the body are also covered, it would be a great handicap, hence the

need is that these should be kept open." Nothing could be clearer. And further discussion on the subject is, therefore, quite superfluous.

The fourth source, the Ijma'-al-Umma or the consensus of the people, is a great thing in Islam. The Prophet Muhammad, with the farsightedness that characterized his rulings, enjoined upon his followers the need for a consensus of opinion of his people, by meeting, clarifying and even improving upon Islamic law in the light of the tendencies of the age. The late Sir Muhammad Iqbal was a powerful advocate of the conference of world 'Ulama' to discuss problems affecting Islam, and to issue rulings altering practices and customs that were impediments in the progress of Islam. If the Islamic world could be moved to use this provision made by Islam, it will do a great deal of service to Islam, and to humanity in general. Non-Muslims have very limited opportunities of studying Islam. A body like the Ijma' could instil life into what the unacquainted Westerner or the ignorant Eastern neighbour of the Muslim calls the effete body of Islam.

The present position of the veil in Islam will be relevant to the question of the Ijma' here. Of all the five continents of the globe, we know there is no *pardah* in Europe or in America or in Oceania. There is none in the Far East. This cuts off the greatest part of the globe, and confines us to a part of Africa (since the Christian or the pagan negroes observe no *pardah* there) and to a part of Asia. A small part of Africa and a part of Asia, therefore, remain. Iran and Turkey have discarded the veil. Muslim women in Arabia, in

²² The late Mirza 'Azim Beg Chaghtai, Pleader, Chief Court, Marwar, Jodhpur, has discussed the subject of the *pardah* in his two books (i) *Quran and the Pardah* and (ii) *Hadith and the Pardah*—and disposed of the arguments advanced by the protagonists of the *pardah*. By a painstaking study of the subject, he has succeeded in hoisting the orthodox antidiluvian Mulla with his own petard.

'Iraq, in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt move about freely though they keep hanging a very light, thin, small black cover over the face. These women can be seen doing business, buying and selling in the open market, in the shops, and on the streets. Some Bedouin women, in parts of Arabia, however, put on thicker veils. Women in Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco move about—the upper strata like those in 'Iraq and Egypt, while the lower strata copy the Bedouin. Afghanistan has somewhat resumed its old rigidity after the exit of Amanullah. India is the only unfortunate country where Muslim women in some parts, at any rate, are confined to the home and veil heavily, and cover the conveyance equally heavily when they have to move out of their house. Even then, we see, nowadays, advanced ladies in India both in the provinces and in the states, who are quite out of the *pardah* as in Iran and Turkey. In the manner of Raziya, Chand Sultana or the Mughul princesses of India the princesses of Hyderabad and Bhopal do not observe the *pardah*. We have numerous portraits of Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahan Ara, Zeb-un-Nisa and others. Had they not given sittings to court painters, the portraits of these princesses could not be so common today.

From the figures of the census of 1931, it is calculated that about 40 lakhs or four millions of women in India observe the *pardah*. A great majority is Hindu. Even supposing half of them are Muslim women, the number cannot be more than 20 lakhs or two millions. Out of 100 millions or ten crores of the total Muslim population in India, half, viz., 5 crores or 50 millions may be taken to be women. If only twenty lakhs or two millions of Muslim women, observe the *pardah* 4 crores and 80 lakhs of Muslim women in India are, according to this computation, out of the *pardah*. Another estimate puts 5% of Muslim women in India under the veil. The peasantry all over India seldom observe the *pardah*. It is, then, the middle class, who suffer most from the evil effects of the veil, the lifting of which will mean no revolution among Muslim women in general, and no breach of the supposed traditions of the Shari'at or this so-called law of Islam. They are, however, the class of Muslim women who do need relief, as it is this very class that should benefit by useful knowledge and modern education. Looked at from the point of the *Ijma'* or the majority also, the old conservative Muslim will find himself lost.

WORKING CLASS FAMILIES OF AN ALUMINIUM FACTORY

G. S. PILLAI

The achievement and maintenance of full employment at rising standards of living is now one of the main objectives of social and economic policy in most countries. In the following article¹, the author gives a general review of the results of his study of 150 working class families of the Aluminium Company of India, Alwaye, Travancore, surveys the general labour problems that have arisen and suggests some measures for their solution.

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Alwaye is a small town, with a population of about 40,000, situated on the bank of the river "Periyar" in the north division of Travancore State. Its proximity to the port of Cochin and the hydro-electric power station at Pallivasal lends it potentialities of vast industrial growth. At present the town contains one cement factory, one pottery works, five mills and an aluminium company. This last is situated in a village called Alupuram, two miles to the west of the main road from Alwaye to Ernakulam. The thatched huts of the workers, the intermittent tea-shops of the village and an attractive chain of hills in the distance with hazy vegetation in the valleys constitute the visible environment of the factory. Started in 1941, with its production beginning only in 1942, the Company is run on Canadian capital.

The raw material, purified bauxite or alumina, is brought in ships to the port of Cochin from where it is transported to the factory by means of boats along the river. The process of work in the factory is the electrolytic reduction of alumina by the Hall-Heroult process. The Company contains five departments in all. The first department is the electrical department consisting of transformers and rectifiers, operated by electricians, lifters, crane workers, etc. The transformers reduce the main supply voltage from higher to lower as required for the purposes of electrolysis, while the rectifiers convert the main supply consisting of alternating

currents to a direct current supply. Next comes the pot-room containing 23 pots whose maintenance is the work of potmen. The third is the paste plant in which fitters, coolies, etc., prepare the paste required for electrolysis. The fourth is the mechanical department in which fitters, smiths, carpenters, etc., maintain the machinery required for the works. The construction department is the fifth, consisting of casual employees and is the only department in which women work. Of all the departments the most strenuous work is involved in the pot-room. The temperature of 1800 F., the physical strain involved in breaking down the crusts formed on the molten metal, the bad lighting, the gloomy atmosphere and the hot air make it so. 10% of the workers interviewed had given up pot-room service in favour of work in other departments. At present the work in the company consists only of manufacturing the metal from the raw materials. The aluminium obtained by the electrolytic process is cast into ingots and sold to the government for war purposes. No fabrication is done in the factory, though there is a proposal under consideration for doing it as soon as the conditions are favourable.

The Worker at Home.—Much of the unrest in industrial society today can be ascribed to the disharmony between the work life and the home life of the labour population. One of the many factors that make family life enjoyable is its physical

¹ This survey was made during 1944-45.

environment. In this respect the thatched huts of the workers in the Aluminium Factory, with the wide open spaces and extensive green fields around them, serve as a happy escape from the drudgery in the factory. But the evils are also many. There is little civic life, no arrangement for sanitation or for the development of the social or community life of the village. Again, every day the worker has to walk a distance of 15 to 20 miles to reach his factory. This, added to the hard day's toil, renders him physically incapable of contributing to his share of the family's activities. He has, moreover, his financial worries, he being the sole earning member of his family who has to support other dependents besides his own family. Lastly, night shift makes him sleep during the day and he finds little time to partake in the activities of home life. To him leisure is practically unknown, as also recreation.

The Worker in the Factory.—A majority of the workers have entered the factory not because they have a positive liking for it, but because they are attracted either by the wages paid or by the opportunity afforded to escape unemployment. When asked whether they liked the job, 30% gave answers in the affirmative, 15% in the negative and the rest were indifferent. There is no regular system of recruitment followed by the employers, which would tend to create a loyalty in the working class to the company. Within the limited space of an article, there is no room to dwell at length on the theoretical importance of factors, which make the worker's life happy, such as, his personal likes and dislikes, his choice of work, his technical skill and experience, the physical environment of the factory, the boredom and fatigue associated with factory labour, the material conditions of work like wages,

hours of work, etc. But these factors are considered briefly with reference only to the workers in the Aluminium Factory.

The factory employs in all up to 420 workers. Of these the workers in the present study are regular full-time employees. Since there is no regular system of recruitment, the workers are drawn from the villages round the factory and from the different parts of Travancore and Cochin States. Women are employed only in the construction department and their number is 42. As regards wages, the skilled labourer gets from a minimum of Rs. 1-2-0 to a maximum of Rs. 2-6-0 a day, the semi-skilled gets from a basic wage of 14 as. increasing up to Rs. 1-6-0 per day, and the unskilled gets between 12 as. and 14 as. a day excluding dearness allowance. The wages are paid fortnightly. The hours of work are 9 hours a day or 54 hours a week for the general shift which lasts from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. with an hour off at midday. Besides, the factory works on 3 continuous shifts of 8 hours each: 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., 4 p.m. to 12 p.m. and 12 p.m. to 8 a.m.

The workers have a six-day week. Sectional holidays are allowed to the different sections on recognised holidays. A permanent worker is allowed annually privilege leave for 12½ days, with full pay. If a worker absents himself for 8 days without leave he is dismissed. After 3 days of absence without leave, the personnel officer makes enquiries as to its cause and deals with each case according to its merits. Since the work is done on a time basis, the worker has to face wage-cuts for late coming. During my stay I came to know of 4 cases of dismissals in the factory as a result of alleged impertinent behaviour. It is unfortunate to note that in no case did the management take proper steps to investigate into the matter

by giving the workers a legitimate hearing.

Promotion is done on the basis of merit. For efficient workers increments are given at the rate of 2 as. but. there is no standard of efficiency except the recommendation of the superiors. Sickness allowance amounts to half-pay up to 3 months. Dearness allowance is calculated at the rate of 50% on Rs. 16/- and on the surplus 25% of itself is calculated additionally. The Provident Fund is calculated at the rate of 6½% on the wage. Only 30% of the workers are at present contributing to it, as the workers are not required to join the Fund.

The incidence of accidents in the factory is very low. Minor injuries like cuts, burns, bruises, etc., did come to my notice, but major accidents were practically nil. The company has taken proper steps to guard against them by systematic study and elimination of points of hazard throughout the entire establishment.

The present study covers 188 workers, all of whom are permanent employees of the Company. Of them 12 are skilled, 24 are unskilled and the remaining 152 are semi-skilled. It must be admitted that, on the whole, their working conditions are good, though a lot more can be done by way of improvement, particularly in the matter of transport. In view of the fact that most of the workers live scattered in different villages, to provide transport facilities for everyone is out of the question. The only solution seems to be the provision of housing for the workers and thus bringing them together and nearer the factory.

Food, Housing and Health.—The usefulness of food is entirely dependent on factors such as the quantity and quality of the food consumed. The importance

of a balanced diet rich in vitamin contents can hardly be over-emphasised. An analysis of the Indian worker's food shows that it is anything but balanced. They subsist mainly on food grains and the workers in the Aluminium Company are no exception. Rice, vegetables and tapioca form their staple diet. Most of the houses visited keep cows, but milk, being considered a source of supplementing the income, is not consumed. Fish, which was once the cheapest nitrogenous food in these parts, has recently become very dear. Meat is held as a delicacy for festive occasions. At the time of conducting this survey, the country was suffering from a terrible scarcity of rice, due to war conditions, though much of the evil has now been reduced, thanks to the well-organised rationing system introduced by the Government. The families subsist on two meals a day, the night meal being the most important. The workers also take breakfast consisting of tea and light refreshments at the tea shops.

Much can be done to improve the nutritive value of the food of the workers without materially increasing its cost. Using preparations of "whole rice" which retain all proteins, vitamins and salts, eating more of bajri, wheat and similar grains which are distributed under the rationing system, cooking rice without washing it too much and not throwing away the excess water in cooked rice, and utilising pulses and beans in increased quantities, will serve to balance their diet and improve its nutritive value. Allotments of land can also be made to the workers to enable them to grow their own vegetables. This can easily be done as the factory owns a vast expanse of land in the vicinity.

Next in importance to food comes the problem of housing. Though it has been argued that the workers' houses should

be as far away from the factory and as distant from each other as possible, so that nothing in their home environment should remind the workers of their work life, the modern idea is that a well-organised and well-planned society of workers is only possible when they live together. If a stabilisation of the labour force is effected by providing housing, recruitment could be done from the children of the wage earners and this would tend to create a feeling in the workers that they belong to the company and that company labour is their natural vocation. The workers would get ample opportunities of climbing up the ladder of efficiency and promotion by constant contact with those skilled in the profession like jobbers, headmen, foremen, etc. Social services could be better organised if the workers stuck together. There would be greater facilities for the development of a working class outlook on fundamental problems like wages, hours of work and trade unionism.

The employers of the Aluminium Factory have not yet put any housing scheme into practice, but they have a scheme on hand which, it is reported, would materialize soon. At present the working class habitations are scattered about in the neighbouring villages. The houses are small with approximately 2 to 3 rooms housing 5 to 9 persons on an average. They are ill-ventilated, dark and with very limited floor space. All the houses, with an exception of about 5% of them which have tiled roofs, have thatched roofs. The floor is *kutchra* covered with cow-dung. Generally, they are devoid of furniture, but there are rare instances of houses with a few pieces of furniture like benches, cots and foot-stools. The houses are provided with no latrines and the work people make use of a specially set aside portion of the compound, or

meadows, or riverbanks for answering the calls of nature. This is a very dirty and unhygienic method which breeds disease. Indeed, the only bright feature of the working class houses is that they are placed in compounds affording plenty of light and air.

Most of these compounds are owned by landlords and the workers have built temporary dwellings on them. They have to pay no rent on these, but a land rent is charged. Of the families that came under this survey, 20% pay an approximate sum of Rs. 7/- per month on house rent, 70% pay land rent and the rest own their own houses. At present the problem of rent is not of great magnitude, but the cropping up of other industrial concerns, like the Chemicals and Fertilizers Co. Ltd., tends to increase the rent considerably and cause trouble in the future in this direction.

Immediately connected with the problem of housing is that of health. The employers of the Aluminium Co. have taken certain measures for promoting and safeguarding the health of their employees. The factory is built on modern lines and is kept scrupulously clean. The building is well-lighted and has adequate facilities for ventilation. It contains well-constructed bathrooms fitted with shower baths and wash basins. Arrangements are made in the works for providing drinking water. There is a dispensary to provide medical aid to the workers. However, since medical aid is not extended to the families, a majority of workers along with their families depend exclusively on Ayurvedic medicine. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that no cases of T.B. or V.D. have come under the notice of the Company doctor.

Family Life.—Within the limitations of the time at my disposal only a super-

ficial survey of family life in its varied aspects was possible. Of the 150 families, 66 are Hindus, 69 Christians and 15 Muslims. Among the Hindus, remnants of the previously existing tendency for endogamy could still be traced. Although patriarchal families are quite common, the matriarchal system still prevails in certain households. A striking feature of the families studied was the practice of early marriage. Most of the marriages are arranged by parents or relatives and the partners rarely have a chance of selection. Marriages are usually celebrated at the bride's place. There was only one instance of a man having two wives. Divorce and legal separation are not common, dissolution of marriage being usually done by desertion.

Approximately there is a period of two year's spacing between intermittent child-births. The practice of birth control is unheard of among these work-people. A conscious limitation on their part of the size of their families is impossible owing to their belief that children are God-sent, to their low vitality which produces a high fecundity, the use of alcohol which stimulates sex and the lack of proper recreation. Confinement takes place in the house of the wife's parents unless they happen to live in the same family. Delivery cases are entirely under the charge of the village *dais*, and for complicated cases the only available aid comes from inexperienced village *Vaidyans*. The death and birth rates of children are very high, though, curiously enough, I did not come across a single case of still-birth during my investigation. The common causes of infantile mortality are diarrhoea, fever, malnutrition, lack of breast-feeding due to ill-health of mothers, improper knowledge of upbringing children, etc. Of the women in the families, 12 had abortions, the total

number being 22, which means that on an average there are 2 abortions per head. The total number of children in the 150 families was 495, the number of mothers being 168. Out of the total number of children born, 98 died within a year of their birth and 40 within three years of birth.

In none of the families studied could be found any women earners. The occupation of the women consists of discharging the household duties and the sacred functions of child-bearing and upbringing of children. Since woman is not an earner, her status in the family is very low.

The percentage of literacy is high among the people, meaning by literate one who can read and write a post card. Of the members in the families studied, 44% are literates in the sense that they have had primary education, 40% are expected literates and the rest are illiterates. Primary education is free in the state and the average literacy is 52%. But the high literacy rate is no index of enlightenment among the people. They still cling to superstitious beliefs, meaningless traditions and customs. A lack of class consciousness is their remarkable characteristic. This can be explained as the chief reason for the absence of an organised union among the workers.

* *Income, Expenditure and Indebtedness.*—

A more or less correct estimate of the standard of life of these workers can be made from an examination of the family budgets. According to the studies of budgets conducted in advanced countries like America, there are 4 main levels of living applicable to the working class families :— (1) the poverty level; (2) the minimum subsistence level; (3) the subsistence plus or the minimum of health and decency level; and (4) the minimum of comfort

level. It can be asserted that the Indian working class families today maintain the poverty level. Industrialisation, although carried to a limited extent, has in India created an increased number of wants in the workers without supplying adequate incomes to satisfy them.

The average of the 150 household budgets gives more or less accurately the standard of living of a representative household. The total number of adults and children in these families is respectively 541 and 357. The number of earners per house is 1.40 and the number of dependents 1.10. This makes it clear that each household contains at least one earner and one dependent. Now the chief source of income is wages, other sources being income from land, from members who serve in the army, etc. Generally speaking, the workers seldom follow subsidiary occupations, due, on the one hand, to the lack of education about the desirability of pursuing them and, on the other, to a lack of leisure. Besides, fatigue, malnutrition, etc., tell on his health, making him unfit to turn out extra work.

The amount spent on food forms the major portion of the expenditure, amounting to 60.90%, calculated on the basis of expenditure, and 71.10% on the basis of income. Although such a high percentage is spent on food, the quality and quantity of the food consumed is very poor.

Rice, which is their staple diet, forms only 50% of the quantity of grains distributed under the rationing system, the other 50% being composed of wheat, bajri and pulses. This affects consumption and produces a devastating effect on their health. Another important item of expenditure is that of fuel and light. Fuel has become very dear and, since most of the workers live on rented land, they have to depend entirely on purchased fuel for household purposes.

The percentage spent on fuel and light comes to 9.80% on expenditure and 11.50% on income basis. The amount spent on light is approximately one-third of that spent on fuel. The workers use oil lamps, crude kerosene tin lamps and hurricane lanterns. Both kerosene and groundnut oil are used for lighting purposes. As regards rent, it forms 5.90% on expenditure and 6.80% on income. The houses are loose structures which need repair or even re-erection every month. This again is a monthly item of expenditure.

Gathering information about the actual expenditure on clothing presented a difficult problem. The workers have no regularity in buying clothes and the quantity purchased on different occasions is strikingly variable. Generally, men use 4 dhoties and 2 shirts per year and 1 or 2 towels; while the women use 4 blouses and 4 dhoties annually and the children generally go about without any clothes. Since primary education is free in the state, the working class spend practically nothing on education. Of the 150 families studied, only 4 spend on an average Rs. 7/- per month on education. Conveyance is another major item of expenditure. The worker's annual trips to his native place and his frequent escapes into the neighbouring towns tell heavily on his purse and involve him in debt. Expenses on religious and social necessities, form 15.80% on expenditure and 18.50% on income. The social habits of the workers include pan-chewing, smoking and drinking. Of the workers interviewed, 90% take toddy as it affords them relief from the monotony and fatigue of factory labour. To remedy this evil, welfare activities of an organised nature should afford recreational facilities and kindle the necessary impetus for creative work. This would diminish the urge for drink, and the amount spent

on it could be saved and utilised for other beneficial items like food, clothing, etc. Finally, the amount spent as interest on debt comes to 7.50% on expenditure and 8.80% on income basis.

The total income per month of the 150

families comes to Rs. 8,733-8-0 and the total expenditure to Rs. 10,196-12-0. From this it is clear that on an average a family spends Rs. 9-12-0 more than the average income. The following table gives the income in rupees per month according to the number of families :—

<i>Income in Rupees per month</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>
21— 35	6
36— 50	64
51— 65	48
66— 80	10
81— 95	8
96—110	6
111—125	6
126—140	2
	<hr/>
	150

The average income per family = Rs. 58-3-0

In 52 out of the 128 families, debts were incurred to meet the monthly expenditure. Other causes of indebtedness are marriages, births, deaths, annual pilgrimages to the temple of Sahari-Malai, unexpected happen-

ings like illnesses, etc. Not a single family had savings, while 22 had neither savings nor debts. The following table shows the distribution of debts :—

<i>Debt in Rupees</i>	<i>Families</i>
0— 50	33
51—100	36
101—150	25
151—200	14
201—250	7
251—300	5
301—350	3
351—400	2
401—450	1
451—500	1
501—550	1

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Because of the absence of a money-lending class in the State, the workers generally borrow from friends, relatives, acquaintances and shopkeepers. On 52% of the debts interest is charged at a rate

ranging from 12% to 150% annually. A good percentage of the debts are due to shopkeepers, for articles bought on credit. There is no definite system of repayment of sums borrowed. Usually a part of the

debt is cleared whenever they find means of doing so. But this does not help them a bit as they have to borrow again to meet emergencies or to make up for the deficiency in the family income. Many of them entertain no hope of repaying the debt,* but visualise a happy post-war era which would enable them to save and thus clear their debts. Then again, they organise amongst themselves a sort of "chit system" by means of which they are enabled to clear in a lump sum the debts which demand immediate repayment. On pay day each of the members contribute Rs. 5/- to Rs. 10/- and the amount collected is paid to the person who is in the greatest difficulty.

This indebtedness is essentially the defect of the social structure which demands expenses from them beyond their means. Education in domestic economy would safeguard the workers from an unwise distribution of family income. It is superfluous to expatiate on the benefit of co-operatives among workpeople, which would enable them to escape from part of the heavy burden of indebtedness, and to avoid the clutches of shopkeepers and unscrupulous money-lenders. A co-operative cost-price grain shop or a co-operative credit society could also do much to minimise their difficulties.

Welfare Activities.—The revolutionary change in the relations between capital and labour, which was a product of World War I, led to a keen recognition of the need for organised welfare work. The chief motive, however, behind most industrial welfare schemes was profit. The employers think that the amount spent on welfare is an investment which brings profitable returns in the nature of more efficiency, increased output and general prosperity of the industry. This profit motive which ignores, more or less,

the human element in industry naturally breeds suspicion, discontent and resentment in the minds of the workers. An inevitable consequence is that welfare fails to realise its desired end and ushers in disharmony in the employer-employee relationship. The idea that welfare is an essential condition of good management is the right one. For it accepts that industry is a collective effort to serve the community by making it more prosperous and more healthy, and that the workers are not so many hands identical with the machines and materials but so many human beings who are their fellow-workers deserving due consideration in the scheme of things. To be successful, therefore, welfare work should be carried out on a co-operative basis, meaning thereby that there should be thorough co-operation between the employer, the management and the workers.

An examination of labour welfare work in most of the industrial concerns in India shows that most of our employers lack the vision and enlightenment necessary for putting into practice the modern ideas of labour welfare. The creation of a labour department or a labour officer alone will not produce any results. Often the labour officer is invested with a host of responsibilities without the full authority to execute his plans. The only solution appears to be the appointment of officers by the State, giving them full authority for the successful working out of their programmes. Another sad feature of Indian industries is the lack of trained men to be employed as labour officers. Unless trained men are appointed no firm can aspire to put into practice even the most carefully laid-out welfare programmes. Since the co-operation of the workers is essential for success, the employees should be consulted before the appointment of a welfare officer.

In the light of the above, let us examine the welfare activities carried on by the Aluminium Company. A canteen, run on a co-operative basis by the Tea Expansion Board, has been provided for the workers. The employers have no hand in its management and it is conducted on a commercial basis. It supplies tea and foodstuffs ($\frac{1}{2}$ anna per cup, 6 annas per meal) the quality and quantity of which compares favourably with the local tea-shops and restaurants. Within the limited time at my disposal I could notice that the workers in general were not patronizing the canteen. And this is not surprising.* The chief motive behind the running of a canteen should be the promotion of the health of and convenience to the workers. This can never be achieved through an outside agency which is always motivated by ideas of self-interest and profit-making. The chief aims of any factory in installing a canteen should be the improvement of the nutritional standard of the food consumed by the workers. This can be done by educating workers in matters relating to health and nutrition and by carrying on propaganda by plant publications, pay envelope slips, posters and classes. Again, the management of the canteen should be taken up by the plant-management itself and run on a non-profit, non-loss basis. In addition to this an employee-elected committee should be made to assume responsibilities for the operation of the food service employing its own commissary manager. A further improvement would be the substitution of milk for tea in the canteen.

A certain amount of medical relief is also provided through a dispensary. It is open daily from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. and the staff comprises one qualified medical man, one compounder and 2 attendants, all of whom work full-time. The dispensary neither contains wards for long-term treat-

ment, nor does it afford facilities for major operations. 90% of the workers seek medical aid from the dispensary as well as from *Ayurvedic* physicians in the village. The rest do not place any faith in the Allopathic treatment and go exclusively to *Ayurvedic* physicians. There is a general complaint from the workers that enough attention is not paid to them in the dispensary. Of course it would be impossible for the doctor to pay individual attention to every worker every day, but his periodic examination is absolutely essential. No records are kept of the cases treated in the dispensary. With adequate knowledge of the working conditions in every department, a careful study of the occupational diseases and a proper keeping of records, the factory doctors can do much in the preservation and protection of the health of the workers.

The outdoor activities conducted by the factory include only football and volleyball. There is one football field and 2 volleyball courts in the factory premises. But it is found that only 5% of the workers take advantage of these, the reasons given being lack of time, fatigue, lack of interest and old age. Without the introduction of a housing scheme which would bring all the workers together and nearer the factory, no physical welfare programme can be successfully carried out. Again, the factory has made no provision for indoor activities. If introduced, they are bound to become very popular as the workers could participate in these games in between the different shifts.

The factory has made no provision for perhaps the most important aspect of welfare, education. The educational activities in an industry should be in co-operation with similar activities of the State or local bodies. By means of classes conducted by experts, adolescent workers

could be given technical instruction for ensuring more efficiency in work. Adult education, too, by means of night classes, etc., should be provided. Perhaps greater in importance than literacy to the adult worker is the practical application of knowledge to useful occupations which materially benefit him. Gardening is one of these. Proper guidance in gardening should be given to the worker either by regular classes held on a model allotment or by occasional lectures on special subjects. A well-kept garden growing nutritive vegetables would serve the double purpose of increasing the nutritive value of the food consumed by the worker and of supplementing his meagre income.

Besides the formal methods enumerated above, a far more informal and indirect method of education may also be utilised through the creation of such organisations as works-committees, games, clubs, dramatic clubs, debating societies, etc., which serve to build up individual character and strengthen the bonds of mutual service between workers. A works library and reading room is also indispensable in any welfare scheme. The library can be started in a very humble way with a small

nucleus of books and gradually it could be expanded.

There is no well-organised union among the workers. The leaders of the union which exists nominally at present are outsiders who belong to the upper middle class and have high academic qualifications. Previously about 70% of workers joined the union, but they dropped out after one subscription and today only 15% are members. To an impartial outsider the failure of the union appears to be the result of faulty organisation and the absence of a 'working-class consciousness on the part of workers owing to their lack of education. Many of the workers, besides, are content with conditions in the factory and visualise a glorious post-war future which will bring about a favourable solution for all their problems.

As with social welfare in general, the problem of the industrial worker also requires for its solution manifold approaches at different levels. Direct approaches to improve amenities are needed, but the over-all necessity is that he should be functioning in a healthy and well-balanced economy.

A SURVEY OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON CHILDREN'S DIETS IN INDIA

PRITHA KUMARAPPA SHALIZI

The diet of the growing child is of paramount importance. Nutritional research has yielded and will continue to yield important information which will provide a sound basis on which an improved standard of dietary can be built. In the following analysis, the author presents expert opinion, discusses the different aspects of the complicated problem of children's diet and shows how difficulties may be overcome.

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As I gradually began to realise the great importance of the right kind of food for the proper growth and development of the young child, I decided to make a survey of the studies on Indian diets and their effect on Indian children. Further, I decided to find out the defects in our diets and discover if there were any cheap but nutritious substitute foods which could be used to form an adequate basic diet.

The majority of the people of India are so poor that they have barely enough for existence. Food, clothing, taxes and so on, have all to come out of the agricultural labourer's minute pittance of 4 or 5 annas a day. Here we see the reason for their under-nourishment. The important foods, such as milk and eggs are too expensive to be bought. If poultry is raised, the eggs are sold to swell the income. So, poverty and at times tradition, keep the Indian in a deplorable state of health and little can be done to remedy the situation until a basic diet is found that is cheap enough for the masses.

However, it is only during the last

two decades or so that emphasis has been placed on the part that food plays in the growth and development of children; and in India this fact is just beginning to be recognised. Now our doctors and scientists are beginning to take an interest in the subject and are carrying on various experiments to discover and correlate all they can find out about the relationship of Indian diets to the growth and development of the Indian child.

D. N. Mullick and J. T. Irving carried out an experiment on rats to discover the nutritional value of some Indian diets. Three typical diets were used, which were constituted as follows:—

- A. The Northern Indian : based on whole wheat (atta), pulse and vegetables.
- B. The Well-to-do Hindu : based on rice, pulse and vegetables.
- C. The Poor Hindu : based on rice and pulse.

The diets were fed uncooked and they were found to contain the following amounts of Calcium and Phosphorus¹ :—

Diets.	Ca : %	P : %	Ca : P ratio
Northern Indian	0.17 0.18	0.33 0.37	0.52 0.49
Well-to-do Hindu	0.09 0.09	0.22 0.21	0.42 0.43
Poor Hindu	0.018 0.021	0.08 0.11	0.23 0.20

¹ Mullick, D. N., and Irving, J. T. *Nutritional Value of Some Indian Diets*. Nature, 140 : 319. August 21, 1937.

From these results it was found that the poor Hindu had a rachitogenic Calcium : Phosphorus ratio ; that the rate of growth was impaired in all three groups as compared to the growth rates of rats on the stock laboratory diet. On killing the rats and taking their ash content, calcification was also seen to be impaired. Breeding was inferior in the three groups. Six in group C died of pneumonia and none lived for more than 105 days. " Although the number of rats used was small, the results confirm McCarrison's finding that the Northern diet is superior to both the Hindu diets."²

Besides the main ingredients, the use of spices has been a subject of contention ; does it or does it not affect those who use it in large amounts ? According to Phillippe Rezek who investigated the matter, the intake of an overabundant amount of spices could cause directly or indirectly certain tropical cirrhosis. He experimented with two groups of dogs, giving them different quantities of spices in their daily diet. They all died within 258 days.

Rezek also found that the taking of spices during pregnancy and nursing could injure the foetal liver as it could injure the infant's liver. Infantile cirrhosis is not seen throughout the whole of India. It is concentrated in Bengal, around Madras, in South India and along Vizagapatam. This disease generally attacks the children of middle class Hindus and of rich Brahmins. Rarely does it affect poor Hindu families, more rarely still the Muslims, and never Anglo-Indians and Europeans. The illness is most frequent in homes with little children, and often several children of the same mother have the sickness one after the other.

The disease begins usually in the sixth or eighth month of infancy, seldom after the twelfth month, and the infants die almost always after an illness of 4 to 8 months, or sometimes even longer.

From this we see that it is of great importance to prevent little children being fed spices very early in their lives, as is apt to be done in old fashioned families in which there has been little education, or which are not willing to accept modern findings in the field of nutrition.

For years we have known that Indian children among poorer families are not properly nourished, but it is only now that we are beginning to realise the extent of this malnutrition that exists in the country. Studies have been made on the diets consumed in various parts of the country, and examinations have been made on children who are brought up on these diets to find the food values that they lack most and the diseases that are caused by these particular lacks.

In Orissa a survey was made of children in the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Khurda. The groups were made up of both rural and urban children :—

1. Cuttack District.—In this group there were 560 children, 90 girls and 470 boys, aged 5 to 14 years. The great majority belonged to the poor class.
2. Puri District.—The children were of the same age and social status as those of the above group. There were 402 of them.
3. Khurda, (rural area).—Here there were 435 children of the same age levels as in the other two groups.

The table that follows shows the kind of food eaten and the amounts used.

Table I³

Principal foodstuffs consumed by the various groups. (Oz. per consumption unit per day)

Foodstuffs	Cuttack	Puri	Khurda
Total cereals ...	19.4	17.0	24.6
Atta (whole wheat) ...	0.6	...	...
Rice, parboiled ...	18.9 (undermilled)	17.0 (milled)	24.6 (home-pounded)
Pulses ...	1.0	0.9	0.9
Roots and tubers ...	3.3	0.3	1.6
Leafy green vegetables ...	1.4	0.9	0.3
Other vegetables ...	2.5	1.6	6.1
Milk and products ...	0.3	...	...
Fish and meat ...	0.6	1.4	0.6
Vegetable oil ...	0.3	0.2	0.1
Nuts and oil seeds ...	...	0.2	0.1

From this table we see that the Cuttack group has about the best diet. Though they consume the same sort of foodstuffs as the other groups they have more of everything on the whole and do not depend completely on rice.

Table II⁴

Intake of calories etc., in the various groups. (per consumption unit per day)

Foodstuffs	Group 2 Mean	Group 3 Mean
Calories ...	1,953	2,742
Calories from cereals ...	1,675	2,449
Percentage ...	85.8	89.3
Total protein ...	52.8	75.8
Animal protein ...	8.9	5.4
Percentage ...	16.9	7.1
Total fat ...	12.7	8.8
Animal fat ...	0.8	0.9
Percentage ...	6.2	9.7
Carbohydrates ...	413.1	583.8
Total calcium ...	0.28	0.28
Total Phosphorus ...	1.35	2.31
Total iron ...	23.4	28.6
Carotene ...	1,141	826

³ Singh, Narindra. *A Study of Diet and Nutrition in Orissa*. Indian Journal of Medical Research, 27, October 1939, p. 455.

⁴ Loc. cit.

From the analysis of the nutrients contained in the food eaten by groups 2 and 3, we see that the mean Calorie intake was low in group 2, though it was fairly adequate in group 3. As far as the protein intake was concerned, the groups were not much below the standards generally recommended, though they were low on the animal protein consumption. Calcium and fat were taken in small quantities,

below the standard, and Vitamin A and carotene decreased from group 2 to 3. However, the phosphorus content of the diet was high, as the consumption of parboiled rice was large.

All the children in these three groups were examined for the presence of deficiency diseases and caries. The results are recorded in the next two tables:—

Table III⁵

The incidence of certain deficiency diseases in the various groups.

Area	Number examined	Number with Pyhrnodema	Number with Stomatitis	Number with Bitot's Spots	Number showing signs
Cuttack ...	561	145	92	29	209
Puri ...	462	88	91	26	161
Khurda ...	434	106	135	26	187

Table IV⁶

Incidence of Gross Dental Caries and Malocclusion.

Area	Number examined		Number with Gross Caries		Number examined Boys 9-14 only	Number with Malocclusion. Boys 9-14 only
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
Cuttack ...	179	90	179	33	316	181
Puri ...	346	50	120	16	216	149
Khurda ...	345	90	147	34	136	94

The Orissa diet is not very different from those of Bengal, Assam or Madras. Yet the incidence of the deficiency diseases is very high, indicating the presence of malnutrition, which is found to be extremely prevalent and severe in this part of India.

The incidence of deficiency diseases that was found here is higher than that recorded by Aykroyd and Krishnan in Madras Presidency, and by Mitra in rural

Bengal and Assam. One reason for this might be that the Orissa study was carried out at a time when the diseases were at their highest peak of incidence. It is known that in many parts of India the incidence of Phrynoderma and Stomatitis varies with the seasons and the seasonal change in diet.

However, when the height and weight of the boys were considered, it was found

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

that they were similar in height to boys in other parts of India, of the same age levels. In weight, the Orissa boys were heavier at all ages than the South Indian children studied in previous investigations.

• A study made in North Bengal, Upper Assam and Calcutta, showed that the children in this section of the country were in a somewhat better physical state than the children from other sections. We shall see the reason for this from a detailed review of the survey that was conducted. Three groups were studied. They were :—

1. Village families in the district of Dinajpore,* North Bengal,—those of farmers and labourers. The dietary intake of 40 Hindu families was calculated and 1,294 children were examined, of both Hindu and Muslim families. The survey was done in January and February.
2. Families working on tea estates in Jorehaut District of Upper Assam. The food records of

35 families were analysed and 1,096 children were examined. Weekly wages for adults were on the average of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3, and for children 12 annas to Re. 1, per person. Small free huts and cultivation plots were available for workers. This study was made in March and April.

3. Marwari, business* and professional families, in Calcutta. Some 300 children from these families were examined. The diet of these people was chiefly vegetarian, and family incomes ranged from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000 per month. The Marwari survey was conducted in June.

The families in these groups constitute a rather representative sampling of the people who live in that part of India, and can, therefore, be considered to show the state of health and nutrition as it exists there.

Table I⁷

Average intake of important foodstuffs consumption unit per person.

Foodstuffs.	Group 1 Dinajpore Ozs.	Group 2 Jorehaut Ozs.	Group 3 Calcutta Ozs.
Rice (parboiled) ...	25.0 (home-pounded)	19.4 (mostly milled)	3.0 (milled rice)
Atta (wheat flour-staple food) ...	...	...	10.3
Pulses ...	0.4	0.9	2.4
Non-leafy vegetables ...	7.0	4.4	6.2
Leafy vegetables ...	0.2	0.8	0.1
Fish, eggs, meat ...	0.7	0.7	...
Mustard oil ...	0.3	0.3	...
Milk and preparations ...	...	...	11.7
Clarified butter ...	...	...	2.0
Fruits ...	...	...	3.1
Sugar ...	...	...	0.6

⁷ Mitra, Durga Das. *A Study of Diet and Nutrition in North Bengal, Upper Assam and Calcutta.* Indian Journal of Medical Research, 27, October 1939, p. 444.

These results will be discussed after the results as figured from this table of food-
Table II, which shows the intake of nutrients.

Table II⁸

Intake of protein etc., per consumption unit per day. (for all three groups)

Nutrients	North Bengal Mean Intake	Assam Mean Intake	Calcutta Mean Intake
Total protein (g) ...	71	64	71
Animal protein (g) ...	4	5	10
Percentage of animal protein (g) ...	5.4	7.3	14.4
Total fat (g) ...	14	13	85
Animal fat (g) ...	1	1	67
Percentage of animal fat (g) ...	4.9	6.5	78.7
Carbohydrate (g) ...	583	498	392
Total calories ...	2,740	2,329	2,636
Percentage of calories from cereals ...	91.4	86.5	51.3
Calcium (g) ...	0.22	0.27	0.69
Phosphorus (g) ...	2.24	1.77	1.78

The mean calorie intake of Groups 1 and 3 was fairly good though that of Group 2 was rather low. The mean intake of Group 1 and 3 was higher than that of South Indian village families.

The protein intake was not far below the recommended standard, but again the amount of animal protein consumed was small. As for the Calcium and Phosphorus intake, Group 3 reached the standard for both, while groups 1 and 2 were high on the Phosphorus intake and low on the Calcium one. Group 3 was better off as milk and whole wheat were an occasional part of the diet.

Nothing is said of the Vitamins C and D, but all groups were thought to be adequate on their Vitamin B1 intake. Groups 1 and 2 were also low on Vitamin A intake.

From the examination of school children, it was found that in height, the Calcutta and rural Bengal children had a

higher average than the Assamese children, while in weight, Group 1 were better than Group 2, and were also better than the South Indian children. These findings are in connection with boys.

The Marwaris showed no signs of deficiency diseases, and Phrynoderma had a lower incidence in Assam and Dinajpore than in South Indian schools and hostels. All the Groups had a 26% frequency of gross caries. Malocclusion of teeth occurred more in the Calcutta group than in the others.

"The comparatively good physical development of children in the rural Bengal district, may be due to the fact that the main ingredient in the diet is freshly prepared home-pounded parboiled rice, consumed in fairly abundant quantities."⁹

Very similar to the results of Mitra are those found from a diet survey of some families and institutions in Calcutta, by Ahmad and Mullick. In the diets studied in

⁸ Ibid., p. 443.

⁹ Ibid., p. 446.

this group, "A close relationship was found between the amount of money spent for food and the calorie intake. A similar relationship was found to exist between the carotene intake and the percentage of the food budget devoted to the purchase of food and vegetables."¹⁰ The Vitamin A and Ascorbic acid content of all the diets were low. The Carotene intake of families was high, and the Vitamin B1 intake of all diets was adequate.

There was no report on the Vitamin C content of the diets in the above mentioned survey, but Basu and Roy conducted an experiment on the optimum requirements of Vitamin C of persons living on a Bengali diet. The Bengali diet used, consisted of :—

Rice	280 gms.
Whole wheat	70 gms.
Vegetables (mainly potatoes)	200 gms.
Pulses	50 gms.
Milk, variable amounts	225 to 900 gms.
Fish	50 gms.
Total carbohydrate content of the diet is over 300 gms.	

Some spices and sweets were included.

The results found were that 70 mg. of Vitamin C was the daily requirement, as 22 mg. of the ingested vitamin is lost through daily urine elimination, and 44 mg. is the actual requirement per day.

This experiment also seemed to show that "If a person takes large doses of

vitamins for a long period, his body probably develops the power of destruction of the vitamins to a greater extent than under conditions of normal intake. This power generally disappears within 48 hours after the intake is considerably reduced."¹¹ The excessive use of carbohydrate does not, seemingly, affect the utilization of Vitamin C in the body, while the greater need for this vitamin in a warm, moist place is due, probably, to its loss through copious sweat.

I am a little chary of accepting these results completely and applying them to all people on a Bengali diet, as the experiment was conducted on only six persons. However, it does give us an idea of about how much would be needed for an adult every day.

In the central part of India the conditions and the food eaten are much the same as those of people in and around the Bengal area. This is seen from the diet survey made by Bhawe in the Central Provinces and Berar, covering the food consumed by 22 families employed in the Nagpur cotton mills, 29 families working in Tirodi manganese mines and 20 families of the poor cultivator class in Warud. The average income of the first group was Rs. 18-8-0 per month, and that of the second group was Rs. 16-0-0 per month, per family. The average number of persons in each family for the three groups was 4.4.

Since the diet of all the groups was very similar, I shall give just one table to illustrate the sort of food that was consumed, and the nutrients present in them.

¹⁰ Ahmad, B., and Mullick, D. N. *A Diet Survey of some Families and Institutions in Calcutta. Part 2. A Note on the Vitamin Content of the Diets.* Indian Journal of Medical Research, 28, October 1940, p. 402.

¹¹ Basu, N. M., and Roy, G. K. *The Optimum Requirement of Vitamin C of Persons Living on a Bengali Diet.* Indian Journal of Medical Research, 28, July 1940, p. 140.

Table 1¹²
Diet of mill-hands in Nagpur.

Foods	Ozs. per c. u.* per day	Chemical Composition	Per c. u. per day
Rice (raw, undermilled) ...	16.5	Total protein	60 gms.
Wheat ...	2.5	Animal protein	3 "
Pulses ...	2.1	Total fat	23 "
Leafy vegetables ...	0.9	Animal fat	7 "
Non-leafy vegetables ...	3.2	Carbohydrate	472 "
Fruit ...	...	Calories	2,400
Ghee (clarified butter) ...	0.14	% of calories from cereals	76
Vegetable oil ...	0.51	Calcium	0.3 "
Milk and buttermilk ...	0.85	Phosphorus	1.3 "
Meat, fish and eggs ...	0.37	Vitamin A (I.U.)	1,100

*C. U. = Consumption unit.

The diet presented in this table confirms the findings of Aykroyd, Krishnan, Passmore and Sundarajan (1940) that the diet of the poor rice-eater is very much alike all throughout India. "The cheap Madrassi diet" closely resembles the diet of these Nagpur workers.

If the standard for calories taken each day were set at 2,600, more than half

the families were undernourished. The diet has a deficiency in animal proteins, animal fat, calcium, Vitamin A and certain factors of the Vitamin B2 complex. The replacement of the under-milled rice by highly-milled raw rice, would make the diet a beri-beri producing one. The qualitative defects of the Tirodi and the Warud diets were almost identical.

Table 2¹³
Average height and weight of children in Nagpur.

Age	No. of Boys	No. of Girls	Av. height (inches)		Av. weight (pounds)	
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
5	122	...	42.3	...	38.0	...
6	320	24	42.5	44.8	36.6	38.9
7	792	96	45.0	44.7	36.4	43.7
8	796	108	46.6	46.7	42.4	45.5
9	762	96	46.7	48.8	46.8	49.8
10	579	91	50.2	50.0	49.7	56.8
11	390	36	52.0	52.0	54.2	59.7
12	284	19	53.4	56.3	56.3	70.0
13	159	12	54.9	58.0	63.9	76.5
14	80	...	57.1	...	74.9	...
15	38	...	59.7	...	80.7	...

12 Bhawe, P. D. Diet Surveys in the Central Provinces and Berar. Indian Journal of Medical Research, 29, 1941, pp. 99-100.

13 Ibid., p. 163.

The above table, I think, is a very interesting one, as according to Bhawe these height and weight averages are approximately the same as those of other poor class children in the many rice-eating areas of India, "suggesting that the growth-rate of children between 5 and 15, is largely determined by diet, and that differences in race have relatively little influence on physical development in these age groups."¹⁴ As the averages are made from the records of 4,690 children, 4,185 boys and 505 girls, the findings can be considered to be fairly accurate.

Though the height and weight averages are the same as those of other children, the state of nutrition in these groups was terrible. The incidence of deficiency diseases was 16% in Nagpur children, 46% in Tirodi and 27% in the Warud group. I believe this province has the highest death rate in the whole of British India.

The last dietary survey to be considered is that of Mitra, who studied the food consumption of 194 families which were a part of the mining population of the Jharia Coal Fields in Bihar.

Foods eaten were :—

Cereals—Mainly home-pounded,

parboiled rice, and a small amount of wheat flour was used in the higher income groups.

Pulses—Taken in large quantities.

Leafy vegetables

Non-leafy vegetables—Bottle gourd, egg plant, broad bean, radish, etc.

Fats and oils—chiefly mustard oil. Clarified butter used in the upper income brackets.

Flesh foods—Beef occasionally, among the Muslims and aboriginals. Goat's meat most popular. Some poultry and fish among the more wealthy.

Milk and its products—Cow and buffalo milk, but the supply is meagre.

Fruits and nuts—Guava, papaya, banana etc. They are costly as they have to be imported from other parts of the country.

Sugar and jaggery—Used to sweeten tea or as a condiment.

Condiments—Turmeric, coriander seeds, red chillies, mustard seeds, onion, etc.

Table 3¹⁵

Frequency distribution of families in the different income groups abstaining from the consumption of various 'protective' foodstuffs.

Incomes	Leafy veg. No. of families	Milk & pro- ducts No. of families	Fruits & nuts No. of families	Flesh foods No. of families
To Rs. 15	31	65	74	19
Rs. 15—30	26	29	39	8
Rs. 30—50	25	13	24	10
Rs. 50—200	14	3	3	7

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

¹⁵ Mitra, K. *Dietary and Physique of the Mining Population in Jharia Coal Fields (Bihar)*. Indian Journal of Medical Research, 29, Jan. 1941, p. 148.

From this table it is easy to see the relationship of income to the quality of food. The more money the family has, the more protective foods are consumed, as the protective foods are generally too expensive for the poor.

These diets are deficient in more or less the same essentials as are all the other diets that have been considered so far. Fat, Calcium, Vitamins A and C were taken in insufficient quantities, but Vitamin B1 and protein were satisfactory.

1,500 children from the miners' families were clinically examined for the presence of Xerophthalmia, Phrynoderma and Angular Stomatitis, which are thought to be connected with food deficiencies. It was found that :—

20.1% of the boys were suffering from one of the three diseases.

15.0% of the girls were suffering from one of the three diseases.

On rapid examination, without the use of mirror or probe, 10.36% of the boys showed signs of gross caries and 7.52% of the girls had gross caries. 37.71% of boys showed some amount of malocclusion and 38.20% of the girls displayed the same thing. On the whole the girls were in a better state of nutrition than the boys in this group. As for the height and weight averages of these children, they

were similar to those of the Madrassi and Assamese children as recorded by Aykroyd and Krishnan, Wilson and Mitra but were below those of the children of Delhi Province as measured by Shourie (1939). In these means of height and weight, boys were taller and heavier than the girls of the same age levels.

Having found that food deficiencies are very much alike throughout the country, we can go on to a study of some of the needs of Indian children, and the composition of some of the foods that are used in the country.

Krishnan carried out an experiment on the actual calorie intake of 150 boys in a boarding school to the south of Madras. They were all clinically examined for signs of deficiency diseases, and they showed none. They were divided into five age groups, 2 to 3, 4 to 5, 6 to 7, 8 to 9 and 10 to 11 years.

The food used was vegetarian, and consisted of either lightly milled or home pounded rice, ragi once a day and an adequate supply of vegetables, fruit and milk.

The results that were obtained compared rather favourably with the standards set in Health Bulletin No. 23 (The Nutritive Value of Indian Foods and the Planning of satisfactory Diets, 1936, Government of India Press, Delhi). This comparison is clearly seen from the table given below.

Table 11^a

Observed calorie intake compared with Health Bulletin Standards.

Age Group	Health Bulletin Standard	Actual Intake	Difference %
2 & 3	780	870	+11
4 & 5	1,040	1,140	+10
6 & 7	1,300	1,300	Nil
8 & 9	1,560	1,600	+3
10 & 11	1,820	1,760	-3

^a 16 Krishnan, B. G. Calorie Requirements of South Indian Children. Indian Journal of Medical Research, 36, Jan. 1939, pp. 634-35.

"The observed figures for energy intake correspond well with those given in the Health Bulletin No. 23 for ages above 6 years. Since these figures compare favourably, this intake may be deemed sufficient."¹⁷ This amount of Calories may then be considered adequate for South Indian children over 6 years. We may even be able to accept this as a temporary standard for other Indian children, as we have seen from the various studies already mentioned, that children throughout the country are more or less alike, both in development and health conditions.

From this it may be seen that Indian children do get an adequate number of calories in most cases, though of course, this is not as true of adults.

Observations by Wilson and Roy, on the metabolism rates of Indian boys in Calcutta, of 6 to 16 years, showed that, "they may be on the low side, but taking into consideration their physique and diet, there is no evidence that a racial factor is involved."¹⁸ The metabolic rate was found to be 62, which would be considered an increase by some standards and a reduction by other standards.

A very interesting experiment was made on the availability of Calcium and Phosphorus in various cereals. This is of special interest to us as we have a marked deficiency of Calcium in our diets, and as cereals play an important part in almost all Indian diets. K. V. Giri, who made the experiment, found that the concentration of Calcium in the cereals most commonly used in South India, was :—

Ragi.....	0.334%
Rice.....	0.010%
Cholam.....	0.027%
Cambu.....	0.049%

The work was carried out on rats who were fed a diet low in Calcium and Phosphorus content. The findings obtained demonstrated that the percentage retention increased with smaller intakes of Calcium and Phosphorus, when the staple article of food was ragi, e. g. the percentage retention increased from 68% at 0.240 Ca. intake level to 87% at 0.140 Ca. intake level.

As for the Calcium : Phosphorus ratio, it was practically the same at all levels of intake. This ratio of ragi came the closest to the one considered necessary during a period of rapid growth and calcification, which is between 1 and 2.

The Ca:P ratio of the diet based on Ragi was 1.31.

The Ca:P ratio of the diet based on Cambu was 0.35.

The Ca:P ratio of the diet based on Cholam was 0.32.

The Ca:P ratio of the diet based on polished rice was 0.10.

The ragi Ca:P ratio is similar to that of milk, which is between 1 and 1.3. From all these facts "it is clear that the Ca:P ratio in ragi is very favourable for optimal growth and retention of minerals,"¹⁹ and ragi at the same time is also a very good source of Calcium and Phosphorus.

In a study on Human Metabolism it was found that typical vegetarian diets, of 600 gms. of rice, and 0.15 to 0.20, gms. of Calcium, with a Ca:P ratio of 1/6, failed to maintain adults in Calcium balance. Typical wheat diets with 600 gms. of wheat and 0.30 to 0.35 gms. of Calcium with a Ca:P ratio of 1/6, gave better results,

¹⁷ Loc. cit.

¹⁸ Wilson, H. Ellis C. *Observations on the Basal Metabolism of Indian Boys in Calcutta.* Indian Journal of Medical Research, 25, April 1938, p. 904.

¹⁹ Giri, K. V. *The Availability of Calcium and Phosphorus in Cereals.* Indian Journal of Medical Research, 28, July 1940, p. 110.

probably because the level of Calcium intake was higher. Both these diets, however, kept the adults in a positive Phosphorus balance. From this we see that the rice diet is about the weakest in its supply of the needed Calcium requirement for the maintenance of good health.

The addition of 466 gms. of milk to a rice and fish diet improves the Calcium balance and brings the ratio of Ca:P to between 1 and 2.2 and the Calcium content of the diet is increased to 0.86 gms. But as I have mentioned before, poor people find it difficult to obtain milk.

In another study by Basu, Basak and De, on the Calcium and Phosphorus Metabolism of Typical Indian dietaries, it was found that if their results were compared with other standards, "The diets, even without milk, are quite adequate in protein content and can satisfy all the accepted standards except that of the British Medical Association (1933), which is generally regarded as too high."²⁰ If milk is added, they almost reach even the British Standards, and in any case they do contain sufficient protein and permits its satisfactory utilization, by the body. The amount of animal protein consumed is small. "Even this small amount of milk, however, is beyond the means of most of the Indians of the poorer classes. It is essential to find some very cheap but at the same time rich sources of nutritionally available food calcium so as to ensure an adequate intake of it by poor Indians."²¹

Another finding of this study was that the biological value of proteins in rice and wheat diets decreased at high levels of protein intake, but the digestibility coefficient increased considerably.

Aykroyd and Krishnan, demonstrated the value of giving poor Indian children skimmed milk, and Calcium lactate. The skimmed milk was a more valuable supplement, naturally, but the calcium lactate was also worthwhile and was a little more feasible as a child could be supplied with the necessary amount by spending just one anna a month. To some families one anna would be too large an amount for one child, but it would be of value to those who are a little better off and who could afford to spend that much though they might not be able to spend more for other calcium rich foods.

From all these studies and surveys that have been considered in the foregoing pages, it can be clearly seen that Indian diets are quite similar in foods and nutrients and that there are certain outstanding defects. The deficiencies are :—

1. A lack of an adequate intake of animal protein.
2. Very low Calcium consumption.
3. Small supply of Vitamins C and A.
4. Insufficient intake of animal fat.
5. Vitamin D intake is not mentioned at all.

On the other hand, some essentials are eaten abundantly, as

1. A high intake of phosphorus, due to the use of parboiled rice, and
2. Iron,

while others are taken in sufficient quantities, such as,

1. Vitamin B₁,
2. Calories, and
3. Total protein.

²⁰ Basu, K. P., Basak, M. N., and De, H. N. *Studies in Human Nutrition, Part 3. Protein, Calcium and Phosphorus Metabolism with Typical Indian Dietaries.* Indian Journal of Medical Research, 29, Jan. 1941, p. 116.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

We do not have to be particularly concerned about those foods and nutrients that are consumed in sufficient or large quantities. Undoubtedly, overabundance would disappear when greater variety is introduced into the dietary and when more of the other necessary foods are included in it.

In considering the deficiencies, I do not think much can be done to help right now, especially in the case of animal protein and animal fat intake, as they tie up with cultural traditions and religious ideas and principles. To induce the bulk of our population to eat meat and its products, will take a long time as well-established old ideas have to be given up before new ones can be accepted.

However, as a definite beginning and as a start towards formulating a basic diet for the Indian people, we can say that the use of ragi to supplement wheat and especially rice diets, would be a step in the right direction. As we have already seen ragi is very rich in Calcium and has a high retention value, as well as a Calcium:

Phosphorus ratio that is the same, or almost the same as that of milk. Ragi is 7 times as rich in Calcium as Cambu, and 33 times as rich in the mineral as Rice, and so it seems in all respects to be the most valuable of the various cereals considered thus far.

Experiments on Vitamin A and C are scarce, and I was not able to find very much on the subject. The foods that are advocated at present as good sources of these vitamins are too expensive for the majority of our people to buy in sufficient quantities.

In conclusion, one may say that a great deal is being done to study the nutritional state of Indian children, and the composition of the various foods that are in common use. Many more studies and experiments are needed before the best and cheapest basic diet is formulated for India. Then too, much has to be done in educating our people before the health and development of our children can be improved to any great extent.

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

B. V. NARAYANASWAMY NAIDU

All over the world rural indebtedness is a common phenomenon. In India the problem has assumed enormous dimensions and is the most outstanding indication of the insolvent nature of our rural economy. The question of peasants sunk deep in debt has virtually become a social and economic menace. In the following analysis, the author describes what in his opinion are suitable methods to eradicate rural indebtedness and to rehabilitate our agriculture on sound lines.

Dr. Narayanaswamy Naidu, who is the Principal and Professor of Economics of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, is also the Economist for Enquiry into Rural Indebtedness of the Government of Madras.

The agriculturist in every country has been plagued for far too long a period by vast accumulation of debt—productive and otherwise. Agricultural returns are always fluctuating due to diverse natural causes but interest payments continue as fixed charges on land income. It is this rigidity of the debt that constitutes a menace to agricultural health and prosperity.

It is needless to enter into an elaborate analysis of the causes that led to this rapidly mounting debt; the causes of indebtedness have been rendered familiar to everybody by both publicists and economists on the one hand and government reports on the other. However, certain observations on these well known causes appear to be called for in view of their changed character under the altered circumstances of a global war. Past enquiries into debts have been generally undertaken when the burden of debt began to smother agriculture. Depression with its unmarketable surpluses and crumbling prices aggravates certain causes and stifles agricultural debtors. But war with its short supply and sky-rocketing prices will have naturally an opposite effect upon the familiar cause of indebtedness. It will then be appropriate to study, at least in brief outline, the effects upon them of war-time factors.

Agriculture in India has been aptly described as a deficit economy; tiny parcels

of land, over-strained soil, vagaries of the monsoon and insecurity of harvests have combined to keep down the majority of agriculturists on the brink of, if not below, the subsistence line. These environmental and physical factors have continued to be the same during the years of war. Improvidence and extravagance, the twin vices associated with the Indian peasant, have been under some check in recent years due to many of the old familiar avenues of spending being closed by war-time controls. Most of the demand has been pent up, spending truncated and expenditure on ceremonies and pilgrimage have been severely abbreviated. A characteristic trait of the Indian farmer is his unappeasable land hunger. Hence, in the absence of alternative ways of spending, a considerable volume of the forced savings has flowed into the field of land purchase.

In the decade prior to the war, unremunerative prices operated as a potent source of increasing indebtedness; and for several decades usurious rates of interest have directly contributed to swell the volume of indebtedness. Similarly, the natural growth of population has produced a more than proportionate rise in its pressure upon land owing to lack of alternative employments with the consequence that agriculture, already a depressed industry, was still further depressed. Litigation was no inconsiderable factor in influencing debt in the past. However,

all these factors were in-operative in the last five years due to war-time high prices and easy money market conditions. In a period of ascending spiral of prices, resort to court appreciably diminishes since creditors are willing to wait for collection of their dues and the debtors are more regular in the payment of interest and repayment of capital. This is undoubtedly a welcome change ; but such a happy state of affairs will not last for ever. With the gradual wearing out of war-time influences, these factors, now existing as it were in suspended animation, would revive and reassert themselves.

It is possible to divide the causes of indebtedness into two classes. The first class consists of those which persist through slump or boom, war or peace and are determined by basic conditions of agricultural economy like monsoon, soils and sub-division and fragmentation of land. The second subsumes those factors likely to be modified or annulled by adverse artificial circumstances. These two sets of causes may be called basic and alterable. However, it must be added that this distinction is not fundamental but convenient, for even basic causes can be modified or annulled by protective irrigation works or legal reforms affecting ownership, inheritance and bequeathal of land-property. But alterable factors can be reduced in their intensity by indirect action, for instance, monetary and financial devices.

It may be observed with a considerable degree of truth that in the history of rural indebtedness in India, no radical cure had been sought to be applied to restrain or nullify the influence of either of these sets of causes. Notwithstanding the few irrigation works undertaken in the last fifty years, fickle monsoon still holds

agriculture in its tyrannical grip. Practically no headway has been made in agrarian reform. Much too orthodox monetary and financial policy, pursued up to the present time, has failed to confer upon agriculture even the little indirect benefit that would have been possible by a more liberal, if not Keynesian, policy. On account of all these, no purposive action has been taken to counteract and neutralise the baneful effects of the causes, basic or alterable.

The upshot of this kind of a colourless policy was that rural debt has been growing with accelerated momentum. The oppressive load of agriculturists' debt was increasingly felt in the last quarter of the last century. Before taking any remedial action, the Government of Madras wished to know the magnitude and character of the debt. It was this desire that led to the appointment of Mr. (later Sir Frederick) Nicholson for the purposes of enquiring into the rural debt position in the Madras Province in 1895. Two more surveys of a similar nature were made by the Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1930) and by Mr. W. R. S. Sathianathan (1935).

Turning now to the enquiry¹ recently made, we find that the total debt of the province in 1939 was Rs. 2,71,91,64,000 and in 1945 was Rs. 2,17,71,15,000. The debt per capita was Rs. 51 and Rs. 40·8 in 1939 and 1945 respectively. The reduction of debt is about 20%. The percentage of people free from debt is 23·3% throughout the period 1939-45, those who have completely cleared their debt 11·9%, those who have partially cleared debt 21·2%, those who have newly incurred debt 22·3%, those who increased their debt 13·7% and those who maintained the same position 7·6%. For this purpose the rural population has been divided into

¹ See report of the "Economist" for "Enquiry into Rural Indebtedness, Madras."

big land-holders, medium land-holders, small land-holders, tenants and landless labourers. is Rs. 81.56 crores and net reduction, Rs. 54.21 crores.

During this period about Rs. 27.35 crores have been borrowed for the purchase of lands and productive investments. Hence, gross reduction of debt The debt per acre of occupied area has been computed to be Rs. 66.6 and Rs. 53.8 in 1939 and 1945 respectively, while the debt for Rupee of assessment, Rs. 28.2 and Rs. 22.5 in 1939 and 1945 respectively.

Per Capita Debt For Each Class

Class	1939	1945	Difference	Percentage fall or rise
I	188.5	113.3	-75.2	-39.9
II	78.8	59.4	-19.4	-24.6
III	42.8	37.6	-5.2	-12.3
IV	20.5	21.3	+ 0.8	+ 4.1
V	5.7	8.3	+ 2.6	+45.6

Class	Per Capita Income	Per Capita Debt
I	347.7	113.3
II	201.7	59.4
III	116.1	37.6
IV	108.9	21.3
V	91.7	8.3
Average	144.4	40.8

The total debt of each of the 5 classes has also been calculated in 1939 and 1945. debt at present is above the figure of W. R. S. Sathianathan given in 1935.

These data indicate that the real burden of the debt has substantially fallen although the money value of the Changes in the prices of food crops and non-food crops are studied in the report as also the rise, the cost of cultiva-

tion and rise in the prices of consumption goods. The rise in the price of rice is found to be the lowest and the rise in wages is remarkable.

The capacity to save and liquidate debt has been strengthened only in the case of big land-holders. The medium land-holders have just managed to scrape through with a slight loss of about Rs. 4/14/- in the surplus of income over expenditure between the years 1939-45. The small land-holders, tenants and labourers have not been able to make both ends meet.

The reduction in debt may be ascribed to the following reasons : Only Rs. 27 crores worth of land has been bought by land-holders. Therefore about Rs. 20 crores worth of land has been bought by non-agriculturists, and probably by the commercial rich.

Reduction due to A. R. Act is about Rs. 10 crores. Reduction due to war-time rise in price will be about Rs. 24·7 crores.

Reform of the tenancy system.—The present tenancy system requires thorough revision on the following lines : The permanent settlement should be abolished and the zamindars may be compensated by means of bonds bearing 3% interest and equivalent in amount to the value of the estates to be resumed. By declaring these bonds non-transferable but heritable, a fall in prices of the other Government stocks can be avoided and the zamindari class will be saved from immediate disintegration. The estates should be converted into ryot-lands and the revenue collection from these, minus the peshkash payable by the zamindar, will constitute a net addition to Government revenue. The entire profit accruing from this course, after reduction is made for the payment of 3% interest on the bonds, may be accumulated in a sinking fund, and set apart for the redemption of the bonds.

With regard to absentee landlordism in the ryotwari lands, a less radical method is recommended. Letting out of lands may be made unattractive by statutorily fixing the share of the tenants at a high level and lands let out on lease may be subjected to a surtax.

The standard of life of the agricultural labourer has risen slightly during recent times and satisfactory measures have to be adopted to maintain if not improve this standard. Wages stabilization is the most important and necessary reform. Stability should mean only avoidance of violent fluctuations and the rates of wages in relation to prices should be fixed at such level as to afford chance for the labourers to raise their standard of living. Thus, if prices are stabilized at two times the pre-war level, wages must be stabilised at $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the pre-war average. For this purpose a minimum wage act should be passed.

The capital equipment of the agricultural labourers has to be increased and improved. Subsidies for effecting agricultural improvements and for the purchase of capital equipment may be extended to all the districts. In order to encourage the agriculturists to market their goods after some processing, government should undertake to sell small machinery such as hand-mills, oil-presses, etc., at subsidized prices or on "hire purchase system", the full payment being spread over ten to twelve years.

Facilities should be provided to the agriculturists for insuring themselves against losses due to natural calamities such as drought, cyclone, flood or cattle disease. The present Famine Relief Fund does not go the whole way to meet this need. A Crop Insurance Scheme should be adopted on the lines of the Federal Crop Insurance in the U.S.A. A beginning

may be made with rice and other major cereals and crop insurance premium of one anna per acre of land under these crops may be collected along with land revenue in all the districts except the dry areas where a higher rate may be charged. An alternative method is a scheme of "Kind" basis under which premium may be collected in grain and stored in Government taluk and district granaries. Crop Insurance has, however, to be supplemented by a vast development of irrigation facilities of a protective nature.

A similar insurance scheme against losses of cattle has also to be adopted. The veterinary Department should be put in charge of this work. In the early stages, insurance may be limited to bovine cattle. Side by side with this, vigorous attempts should be made to combat cattle diseases and improve the breed of cattle.

The Insurance Scheme, to be successful, must be made compulsory and be worked only by Government. Detailed statistical information regarding agricultural production and the condition of cattle can be obtained by the Government through the District Agricultural Officers and the Veterinary Department.

Liquidation of debt.—A radical and systematic attempt should be made to wipe out the unproductive debt incurred by insolvent chronic debtors. The debtors should be grouped into two classes: "hopelessly indebted" and "moderately indebted". In each taluk a Rural Insolvency Court must be set up and a special taluk liquidation officer should be appointed. There should be a legislative enactment requiring all the money-lenders and debtors to furnish full particulars about their loan transactions to the special officer. From an analysis of these data a periodical

list of insolvent debtors is to be prepared and published. Within a month of the publication of this list the debtors must be obliged to appear before the Insolvency Court. They should be declared insolvent, and their assets except their dwelling houses may be distributed *pro rata* among the various creditors. By this means about 25% of the debtors in Madras province will be freed from debt and about Rs. 30 crores of the total debt may be wiped out.

Among the solvent debtors, those who have borrowed on usufructuary mortgages of their property have to be considered separately. In normal times, twenty-five years are required for the complete clearance of any usufructuary debt, but in view of the present abnormal times, this period may be brought down to fifteen years. By means of legislation, all usufructuary mortgages must be required to be released after the lapse of fifteen years. This will account for a reduction of the debt in Madras by about Rs. 30 crores.

As regards debtors who are neither chronic nor have borrowed on usufructuary mortgages, their creditors may be given the option of receiving either land valued at current market rate by an impartial tribunal of non-officials or bonds bearing 3% interest and equal in value to the loan. These bonds should be guaranteed by the State and be made transferable but not redeemable. The 3% interest payable by the state to the bond-holders may be recovered from the indebted agriculturists in instalments of 3% of their debts along with land revenue. The rate of interest on agricultural loans should be fixed at 3% per annum.

The prices of agricultural commodities have to be stabilised. In fixing the limits, such factors as margin of profit for the

cultivator, costs of cultivation, prices of manufactured goods consumed by the farmers and the level of prices in the other provinces and countries have to be taken into account. The Central Government alone will be competent to bring about stabilisation of prices. The objects of the scheme should be to ensure reasonable profits to the agriculturists and to steer production in the desired direction. The prices of agricultural crops may be fixed at 100%, wages at 125% and consumption goods at 50% above the respective pre-war levels. But there should be provision for revision of prices once in three years. Along with this, land values have to be controlled by the Government.

A progressive income-tax should be levied on all agricultural incomes above Rs. 3,000. An exemption from land revenue

collection must be granted to all ryots owning land smaller in size than economic holdings. Attempts at evasion of assessment by subdivision of holdings should be prevented by strictly prohibiting fragmentation of land.

Provision of irrigation works in the rural areas is an important need. The grand irrigational projects now planned and begun must be supplemented by a large number of minor irrigation works. Canals and tanks should be maintained in good repair. It is the duty of the Government to see that there is a good supply of technical men with necessary equipments in each taluk or revenue division.

All these are the most urgent reforms—legislative, financial and constructive—to place agriculture on a prosperous basis.

BOMBAY BUS DRIVERS — THEIR LIFE AND WORK

P. V. KAMATH

Every wise employer is well aware of the importance of obtaining the full co-operation of his employees¹ in order to avoid unrest and repeated strikes. The dehumanised worker, who in many cases is the victim of industrial exploitation, is coming into his own ; in union with his co-workers, he is demanding that he be considered by the employer as a co-worker in the service of the community. In the following article¹ the author has outlined the findings of his investigation into the life and work of the B. E. S. & T. bus drivers in the city of Bombay.

Mr. Kamath (TJSS '46) is the Labour Officer of the Tata Oil Mills Company Limited, Bombay.

Transportation systems have been aptly termed the pulsating arteries of commerce. Without the rail-road and the motor car, India would never have become the unified and closely knit nation it is today. Motor vehicles of commerce and particularly omnibuses developed in the early part of the twentieth century. As far back as 1898 Thornycrofts introduced his articulated six-wheeler, but this was in advance of its time. A few years later the rigid frame six-wheeler made its appearance and by 1928 was largely employed. A great step forward was taken when the safety bus was developed in 1922. From 1920 onwards the use of omnibuses as public transport increased rapidly. In 1913 the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee for the development of the town and island of Bombay. The B. E. S. & T. Co. was called upon to give its views regarding the introduction of motor omnibuses in Bombay. Though it advanced several arguments in favour of motor bus services for the city, nothing was done till 1926 when the General Manager of the Company wrote to the Commissioner of Police asking for permission to introduce on a small scale a motor bus service in Bombay. After a protracted correspondence, permission was finally given and on 15th July 1926, omnibuses first made their appearance in the city. Beginning with a small fleet of 24 Thornycroft chassis in 1924, the Company at present owns a fleet of 185 buses of which 85

are single deckers (accommodating 36 persons each) and 100 are double deckers including 50 open double deckers (accommodating 60 persons each). The Company owing to the war has not been able to import new buses since 1942.

The first routes on which the buses started running were three, from Afghan Church to Crawford Market, from Dadar Tramway Terminus to King's Circle and possibly south of Mahim, and from Opera House to Lalbaug. These routes have since been widely extended to cover the remotest corners of this vast city. Today there are 22 routes from A to P covering a total route mileage of 95.7. There are 3 depots adequately equipped with repairing appliances at Colaba, Dadar and Byculla. The omnibuses were first insured with the Commercial Union Assurance Co., Bombay, mostly at the value of Rs. 12,000 each ; since 1934, however, the third party risk is borne by the New India Assurance Co., Ltd. The expected life of a bus is years equivalent to 200,000 miles. The fares have kept changing, but at present they vary from anna one to annas six depending on the distance, except in the case of "Limited Stop" services where the minimum fare is annas two instead of anna one, the maximum being the same. As regards the number of workers, the average daily number in March 1939 in the outdoor section of the Traffic Department of the Company was 2768, while the

¹ This study was made during 1945-46.

same in January 1945 was 4,106, showing an increase of 1,338 men within a period of 6 years. The number of bus drivers employed by the Company also increased from 288 to 456 in the same period, showing an increase of 168 persons.

Bus Drivers in the B. E. S. & T. Co. Ltd.—

It is said that the ideal bus driver must be young, able-bodied, quick-thinking, absolutely trustworthy and reliable.² But what is more important, perhaps, than all these qualities is the morale and temperament of the bus driver. The qualifications as needed by the B. E. S. & T. Co. are mentioned as follows in the advertisements :—
“Candidates must have a driving licence with heavy vehicle endorsement. Experience of driving for at least one year. Men wearing glasses will not be accepted. Height 5 ft. 6 in., minimum and the person must be robust in health. Age limit 18—35 years.” The candidates who fulfil the above requirements and who are approved by the Senior Traffic Officer are medically examined by the Doctor in charge of the Company’s dispensary, particular attention being paid to the eye-sight of the applicant. Psychological performance tests by a psychologist or by the Chief Driving Instructor have now been discontinued. After being declared fit, the candidate is asked to deposit a sum of Rs. 30/- as security money, as a precaution against his running away with the uniform that is supplied to him during the course of his training. The candidate further undertakes to give the Company 30 days’ notice in writing before leaving service.

The Bus Drivers are trained at the Colaba Depot. In the normal course a

dozen candidates are taken up for training for a period of 8 weeks. During the first week they are given classroom lectures (with the help of models and charts) on the rules of the road, accidents, safe driving operations, routes and running times. From the second week onwards they are sent on the line. In the eighth week a Police Test is taken by the Motor Vehicles Inspector. Another test is given to the drivers after 6 months’ service with the company with the object of promotion to Grade I.

A large number of the 456 drivers employed hail from places more or less remote from Bombay. They belong mostly to the agricultural class and retain contact with their villages to which sooner or later they intend to return. The main cause of their migration is the better prospects and greater opportunities for jobs that the city affords. Invariably they possess a driving licence before migrating to Bombay. A regional classification of the 100 cases studied is given below :—

Region or Province	No. of Drivers
Bombay Province ...	39
U. P. ...	21
Madras ...	18
N. W. Frontier ...	7
C. P. ...	1
Native States ...	13
Goa ...	1

Among the cases studied, 57 were Hindus, 33 were Muslims, 9 were Christians and one was a Parsi. A classification of the drivers into age groups of ten years’ interval is given below :—

Age Limits :	Below 20 yrs.	20-30 yrs.	31-40 yrs.	41-50 yrs.	51-60 yrs.
No. of Drivers :	Nil	34	53	12	1

² *Transportation in War and Post-War*, Annals, Vol. 230, p. 75.

Practically all the bus drivers speak Hindustani or Urdu. 43 have Hindustani or Urdu as their mother-tongue, 30 have Marathi, 4 Gujarati, 8 Konkani, 5 Pushtu,

and 9 have Tamil, Malayalam or Kanarese as their mother-tongue. The following table shows the extent of their literacy :—

Illiterate	Literate	I-III Std.	IV to VI Std.	V. F.	Matrics.	
					Passed	Failed
12	19	11	44	10	2	2

As regards their health, a large number of drivers admit that they have not been keeping normal health ever since joining the B. E. S. & T. Co. Excessive fatigue and insanitary housing conditions are mentioned as the main causes. Though there are no cases of chronic or occupational diseases, a high percentage suffer from indigestion, constipation, diarrhoea, nervous headaches and excessive bodily heat. There is also a general lack of well-being resulting from improper habits of food and rest necessitated by the irregular and changing nature of their duties. 32 of the 100 drivers studied admitted that they resorted to alcohol as an opiate, though the actual number might be more. Other habits include smoking (74), pan chewing (44) and taking snuff (3). Coming to their diet, an overwhelming majority have a mixed diet consisting chiefly of wheat, rice, meat, fish, milk, oil and vegetables, only 15% being pure vegetarians.

The most important occupations of the bus drivers before joining the B. E. S. & T. Co. were as lorry drivers, private car chauffeurs, public bus or taxi drivers. With the exception of one driver, all the others have served under various employers before joining the B. E. S. & T. Co. Of these 44 have changed their jobs once, 35 twice, 7 thrice, 10 four times, 1 five times and 2 six times. The previous employers are private persons or firms in 56 cases, public limited companies in 51 cases, Government, Municipality or other public bodies in 35 cases and the B. E. S. & T. Co. itself in 10 cases. It is

interesting to note that nearly 60% of the bus drivers studied had continuous employment ever since they got their licence, clearly indicating that the rate of unemployment varies according to occupations. In the case of the remaining 40 per cent., the un-employment period ranged from 3 months to a year, causes for the same being subjective and personal rather than environmental.

Conditions of Service.—With the exception of a few drivers, all the others have some complaint or other to make regarding the buses they are driving. Practically all the buses owned by the Company are more than 6 years old and hence have become difficult to operate. Again, a few single-decker vehicles have been converted into open double-deckers to meet the growing demands of an increased population and driving them involves enormous physical strain. The removal of the third gears from buses has aroused protests and remonstrations from bus drivers, though in this respect the Company could not be blamed since spare parts could not be imported from abroad. Other defects in buses include the inconvenient type of seats provided for bus drivers and the position of the horn in a number of vehicles which causes the driver to bend and exert himself a great deal in order to blow it. Lastly, there is not enough provision in the Depots for the drivers to spend their rest pauses in comfort.

Let us now consider the terms of the bus driver's service. At present he

gets a basic pay of Rs. 55/- to start with and reaches a maximum of Rs. 90/- after 6 years' service. This is calculated on the basis of all the days on which the driver has worked in a month exclusive of offs. Wages are paid on the seventh day of each calendar month. He also gets a varying dearness allowance of nearly Rs. 30/- based on the working class cost of living index for Bombay. After completing a year's service with the Company, he gets a bonus of 2 months' basic pay every year provided he has been regular in his attendance.

Hours of work for bus drivers are governed by the Motor Vehicles Act IV of 1939 and the Bombay Vehicles Rules 1940. Being a public utility service, the working day usually varies from 7 to 10 hours. There are 3 main types of shifts : (a) Morning straight duty shifts from 6 a. m. to 3 p. m. with an interval of an hour after 5 hours' continuous work ; (b) Evening straight duty shifts from 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. with similar rest pauses as in (a) ; and (c) split duty shifts with a spread-over of approximately 12 hours with 3 hours 40 minutes to 4 hours' interval at mid-day. Duties are serially numbered at each Depot and particulars regarding the routes, calling times both before and after the reliefs and periods of interval are put up in a prominent place in each Depot. In addition to the regular route duties, there are what are called " Special " duties and " School " duties for a few drivers. Overtime is paid at time and quarter, but only 9 out of the 100 drivers studied admitted doing overtime.

Ever since 27th July 1942, bus drivers get 15 days leave with pay annually. Usually they accumulate their leave for 2 or 3 years. Among the cases studied 67 had taken leave of 15 to 45 days during the year ending June 1945. Though being employed in a public utility concern they

do not get any of the public holidays, they get a paid weekly off provided they have not been absent without leave during the calendar week. In practice, however, the full number of off-days are not enjoyed as such by the drivers owing to the high rate of absenteeism prevalent amongst them. The percentage of men absent varies from 20 to 25 per cent., an unduly high proportion being absent without leave. The result is that there are not enough men available for duty on off-days without calling up some of those who have earned a holiday. Work on each rightfully earned off-day is paid at the rate of one day's wage time and a quarter and in addition a day's leave on half-pay is credited to the driver.

Promotions to higher posts are considered when vacancies arise, due weight being given to seniority in service and a clear record. Among the 100 drivers studied, 5 had been fined once and one person twice during the year ending June 1945, the fines, ranging from Re. 1/- to Rs. 6/-. Orders of suspension are issued by the Court of Enquiry when a grave charge of either corruption or insubordination is brought against an employee. Provident Fund being compulsory, an amount at the rate of 16 pies in the rupee is deducted from the pay of the drivers each month and this amount varies from Rs. 4-9-4 to Rs. 7-8-0 according to the pay received by them. The drivers get a gratuity of three months' pay after 7 years, six months' pay after 10 years, nine months' pay after 12 years and twelve months' pay after 15 years. The driver receives on recruitment 3 khaki suits, 1 cap with 2 khaki covers or 2 khaki pugrees, 12 small buttons ; after 8 months, one khaki suit ; after 1 year, 1 cap with 2 khaki covers or 2 khaki pugrees ; every 4 months after second issue, 1 khaki suit ; every year,

one cap with 2 khaki covers or 2 khaki pugrees ; every 2 years, one warm suit ; every 3 years, one water-proof.

A "points system" is instituted by the Company for dealing with offences and breach of discipline by employees. The procedure is the same as in a Court of Law and the proceedings are presided over by an officer of the Company. The accused may be represented by the Company's Labour Officer on prior request, or by one Union official or other representative. An order of dismissal can only be passed by the Head of the Department and the employee has a right of appeal to the General Manager, which right should be exercised within 7 days.

What about the effect on the drivers of these terms and conditions of service ? We have already noticed the physical difficulties in driving these old buses. The substitution of brush bearings for ball bearings cause undue strain to the arms and chest of the driver. In these days of excessive traffic, the drivers can hardly get an interval of 15 to 20 minutes after 4½ to 5 hours of strenuous work. In practically all the straight shifts they have to miss either their lunch or their dinner or take it hours before or after their usual time. Again, it is not uncommon for drivers to be kept on the waiting-list called the "extra list" at Depots for minor faults which results sometimes in a spread-over of more than 14 hours during which period they have to remain in uniform. At times they have to do overtime in spite of their wishes to the contrary and in spite of the fact that they are too tired to do it. There was not one among the 100 drivers studied who did not complain of chest pain and pain in the limbs during nights as a direct result of the day's work.

A large percentage of drivers going on

sick leave, a high rate of absenteeism, a comparatively large number of accidents and a proportionately large labour turnover are some of the direct results of the existing conditions of service. 11% of the cases studied had taken sick leave for periods ranging from 3 to 9 months within the course of a year. The total number of days absent during the course of a year ranged from 5 to 60 days, the percentage rate of absenteeism being 14.29. Among the drivers studied, 19 had caused in the course of a year 29 accidents of which only 2 were major ones. During 1944 there have been in all 96 accidents and a compensation of Rs. 2,696-13-6 has been paid by the Company under the Workmen's Compensation Act to the injured employees. There is also a large labour turnover among the drivers studied. A large number come under the heads "resigned" and "discharged," other causes for termination of service being death, retirement and invalidity. It is clear that all this loss and hardship could be minimized if the Company completely overhauls its system of organization and modifies the terms and conditions of service of bus drivers including wages and hours of work.

Income and Expenditure.—The main sources of income of a bus driver are his salary and allowances. Among the cases studied there are no cases of drivers following a subsidiary vocation or doing a part-time job. The gross monthly income including bonus and earnings of dependents and income from landed property ranges from Rs. 960/- to Rs. 2,400/- per year, yielding an average gross income per month per family of Rs. 131-7-6. The average of the salary and allowances of the bus drivers only works out to Rs. 102/- in the sample studied. The main items of expenditure for the 100 family budgets studied are given below :—

No.	Items	Expenditure Rs.	Percentage in total
1	Food ...	58 1 2	40.56
2	Clothing ...	11 2 0	7.76
3	Fuel and lighting ...	9 13 2	6.90
4	Rent ...	10 0 10	7.00
5	Religious and social ...	3 7 9	2.44
6	Entertainment ...	2 9 7	1.86
7	Drink and other habits ...	13 1 3	9.12
8	Medical ...	7 1 4	4.86
9	Education ...	1 11 0	1.18
10	Pr. fund, interest, debt re-dem- ption, etc. ...	19 7 0	13.60
11	Miscellaneous ...	6 11 1	4.67
Total ...		143 2 2	100.00

Let us attempt to draw up a minimum basic wage standard for bus drivers expressed in terms of essential commodities and services. For this purpose let us take as our basis the commonly accepted family unit of 5 members. Dr. Aykroyd's

minimum food requirements of 3000 calories for the active man and Rubner's calculation of 2500 calories for women and children. The minimum standard of living is suggested in the following table :—

No.	Item	Expenditure Rs.	Percentage Distribution	Percentage distribution for Bombay
1	Food ...	48 0 0	45	46.60
2	Fuel and lighting ...	10 10 7	10	7.11
3	Clothing ...	10 10 7	10	7.75
4	Rent ..	16 0 0	15	12.81
5	Miscellaneous ..	21 5 2	20	25.73
Total ...		106 10 4	100	100.00

Taking dearness allowance as Rs. 30/- a month on an average, the basic minimum wage for a bus driver should be Rs. 76-10-4 to start with in order that he might lead a life on a minimum of health and comfort plane. A difference of Rs. 22/- a month thus exists between the actual basic wage and the calcu-

lated minimum wage under the present circumstances. These low wages not only reduce efficiency, but create unrest. Insanitary housing, and insufficient food, clothing and medical attention are concomitants of low wages which result in an increased death rate.

Indebtedness is an extremely common feature among the bus drivers. The average gross income per family and average expenditure per month are, as we have seen, Rs. 131-7-6 and Rs. 143-2-2 respectively,

showing a deficit in the monthly budget of Rs. 12/- approximately. The causes of indebtedness and the extent of indebtedness prevalent in the cases studied are given below :—

Cause	Frequency	Amount in rupees	No. of drivers
Family necessity	105	Nil	9
Sickness	29	Below 100	5
Debts	25	100—500	60
Going to native place	14	501—1000	19
Marriage	10	1001—1500	1
Maternity	5	2001—3000	4
Other causes	12		
Average indebtedness per person			Rs. 433-4-0.

Amounts are borrowed from the company and from outsiders. The chief funds from which loans are taken from the company are Provident Fund (46), Co-operative Credit Society (27), Employees' Welfare Fund (28), and Evacuation Fund (7). Of the outside sources, prominent in the order of frequency are friends and relatives (52), money lenders (32), and banks and insurance companies (8). The rate of interest ranges from 6 to 150 per cent.

As regards savings, all the 100 have some savings in Provident Fund ranging from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 1,100/-. 56 drivers have bought up to 10 shares (Rs. 10/- each) and 5 own 11 to 50 shares in the Co-operative Credit Society. 31 drivers are partners in the ownership of joint family property valued at Rs. 500/- to Rs. 20,000/-. 37 drivers own some type of jewellery or other. 6 drivers have insured themselves to amounts of Rs. 1,000/- each and one driver to Rs. 3,000/-. 5 drivers are members of the Barsi Bank Chit Fund for amounts ranging from Rs. 250/- to Rs. 1,000/-. The average saving per person comes to Rs. 1,030/-.

Housing.—Housing of bus drivers can be divided under two heads : (a) that provided by the Company and (b) tenements rented by the drivers themselves. An extremely small percentage of the total number of drivers reside in the three chawls provided by the Company, one near the Electric House, the second in Narayan Building, opposite the Strand Cinema, and the third at Suparibaug, Parel. Let us take the chawl near the Electric House as illustrative of all three. It has two floors and contains 44 rooms in all. The average area per room is 95 sq. ft.—much below the minimum floor area required under the Housing Regulations. 149 single employees occupy these rooms at the rate of 3 per room. Each room has a window 3 ft. by 2 ft. as also a door and is provided with an electric lamp. Cleanliness and sanitation are altogether ignored. There are no dustbins or spittoons; the common water taps in the courtyard are utilised both for washing and bathing; and the lavatories are not kept clean. Rent is charged at the rate of 12 annas per head or Rs. 2-4-0 per room per month.

Of the 100 drivers studied, 81 reside in tenements rented by themselves. In 51 out of 81 tenements lighting and ventilation are thoroughly inadequate. 7 have no windows at all and in 42 others the window area is less than 10 sq. ft. Kerosene lamps are invariably used in these rooms. Water supply is inadequate and the chawls

are kept dirty both inside and outside. Rent varies from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 40/- depending on the nature and size of the tenement. Most of these tenements are single rooms with an average of 4.8 persons per tenement as can be seen from the table given below :—

No.	Nature of tenement	Floor area sq. ft.	No. of drivers occupy- ing	Total No. of occupants	Average No. per tenement
1	Single room	80—200	58	278	4.8
2	Two-room	200—280	14	86	6.1
3	Three-room	300	2	20	10
4	Four-room	400	1	6	6
5	Miscellaneous	100—150	6	32	5.3
Total...			81	422	5.2

Family and Social Life.—One fundamental difference between bus drivers and workers in factories lies in the fact that a large percentage of the former are educated persons and as such are capable of leading, provided they are afforded opportunities, a healthy and socially useful life. Again, the bus driver, by reason of the outdoor nature of his work, comes into contact with numerous people and hence with society and public life.

To begin with their family life, the habitual late home-coming of bus drivers has disastrous physical and psychological effects on normal family life. Added to this is the insanitary and unwholesome environment in which they live. The wives of 14 bus drivers were ailing at the time of investigation, while among their children 13 had been sick out of a total of 110. 40 of the drivers studied belong to a joint family, 23 to a complex family and 37 to a single family. The average family size is 5.8. On an average each driver has 4.8 depen-

dents. The average age at marriage of the 94 married drivers is 22.6 for male, and 15.1 for their female partners, showing an average difference of 7.1 years between husband and wife. 80 of these drivers have married once, 13 twice and 1 thrice. In all 291 children were conceived of which 192 are alive, 74 died within 2 years after birth, 8 more than 2 years after birth, 7 were still-born and 10 were premature births. Very few drivers seem to care about the education of their children, though a few complained about the expense involved in education. One driver spends nearly Rs. 30/- on the education of his children.

Though some drivers were interested in outdoor games, not one among them actually played any owing to the lack of proper facilities, the changing nature of their work and the physical exhaustion involved. Nearly 25% of them had no pastime whatsoever. The rest read newspapers, played indoor games, went to cinemas, for evening walks, etc. 18 of them were 4

anna members of the Congress, 3 were Muslim Leaguers and 2 Hindu Mahasabhis.* Comparatively more drivers were members of public bodies like Arya Samaj.

Their relations with chawl neighbours were cordial and in matters affecting the chawl and the defects in housing, they invariably took the initiative and brought the grievances before the right authorities. There relations with other employees of the Traffic Department with the exception of the officers were also extremely cordial, membership of the Workers' Union, rather than employment by the same Company, being the binding link. Their attitude towards the travelling public is one of indifference. But they are aware of the immense potentialities behind the goodwill of the public and hence expect help and co-operation from the public during crises in their work life either in the form of strikes or lock-outs.

Welfare Work.—It is unfortunate that in a huge public utility concern like the B. E. S. & T. Co. employing well over 8,000 employees, there is no scientific planned programme of welfare work. We have already seen the nature and extent of the Company's housing facilities for its employees. It is understood that it has definite plans for providing housing on the most modern and scientific lines to a larger percentage of its employees. The Company runs two dispensaries, one attached to the Colaba Depot and the other to the Dadar Depot; allopathy is the system at both; free medicines are dispensed to all the employees and first-aid is rendered in case of need. Separate health record cards are maintained for each worker. A well-equipped modern dispensary is envisaged by the Company near the Dadar Depot and structure for the same is well-nigh completed.

The Company runs tea canteens at all its depots where good quality tea is served at half an anna per cup. It maintains only 2 rest-rooms at Colaba and at Dadar which hardly suffice for the large number of employees. There are no public urinals or lavatories near some of the bus and tram terminus. Nor is there any provision for waiting accommodation during off-duty hours. The Provident Fund is compulsory for all employees, the Company contributing to it monthly an amount equal to the contribution of each member for that month. Gratuities are credited to the individual accounts of retiring members of the Provident Fund and paid to them on retirement. Those who desire to make use of the Savings Fund Scheme have a deduction made in their salaries at the rate of one anna in a rupee. Out of the Employees' Welfare Fund, popularly referred to as Poor Box, interest-free loans are granted to poor and deserving employees.

There is a Library and Sports Club, but employees of the Traffic Department have neither time nor rest for sports and reading. The Company has organised two grain shops, one at Dadar and the other at Colaba, where cereal rations and other commodities are supplied to the Company's employees on credit and the amounts are deducted from their monthly salaries. The B. E. S. & T. Labour Gazette is published monthly by the Labour Officer, both in English and in Hindustani, for the benefit of the employees and is distributed free to them. The Employees' Co-operative Credit Society not only advances loans to members at moderate rates of interest and receives sums for deposit, but also serves as an Insurance Agent.

The B. E. S. & T. Company has started a scheme in 1939 for bringing down the accident rate, according to which the

drivers of buses and trams are awarded a "free from accident" badge and also a bonus for a year's service without any accidents, provided they are not on leave and have not been absent from duty for more than 31 days during the year in question exclusive of offs. Bonuses and badges are granted as follows :—

		Bonus Rs.	Badge
First year	...	10	Ordinary
Second consecutive year	...	20	Ordinary
Third consecutive year	...	40	Ordinary
Fourth consecutive year	...	65	Special
Fifth consecutive and onwards	...	100	Special

Annual leaves and weekly off should be made compulsory. Shower baths should be provided at all the Depots.

Industrial Relations.—Trade unionism among the employees of the B. E. S. & T. Co. dates back to 1928 when the Tramway Men's Union was organised. There was no organised Trade Union among bus drivers till 1938 when the B. E. S. & T. Omnibus Drivers' Union was organized. Along with this the Omnibus Conductors' Union and the Tramway Traffic Union were started. In 1941, however, the Omnibus Drivers' Union and the Omnibus Conductors' Union were amalgamated into the B.E.S. & T. Traffic Union. Early in 1942 the Tramway Traffic Union changed its name to the B. E. S. & T. Workers' Union. When the B. E. S. & T. Traffic Union ceased to function, all its members joined the B. E. S. & T. Workers' Union. At present its membership is 5,250, its average monthly income from a fee of four annas per month levied from members is Rs. 1,066/- and its average expenditure is Rs. 704/-. The Executive

Committee of the Union carries on its work through Depot Committees. Proportionately a greater number of bus drivers are elected every year to the Union's Executive Committee than any other category of workers. Absolute faith in the Union's decisions and confidence in its leadership have engendered a sense of discipline and a feeling of unity among the members of the Union.

Though there have been several disputes and strikes in the B. E. S. & T. Co. ever since 1928, the first organised strike in which the bus drivers were vitally affected occurred in 1942. It resulted in a total loss of 5,383 working days and ended only when the dispute was referred, by the Government of Bombay, to adjudication by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Broomfield. The public of Bombay is familiar with the series of strikes in 1945, the lightning strike of 19th March 1945 regarding the open double-deck buses, the stoppage of work for 10 minutes in sympathy with the public of Bombay in their observance of the Chimur and Ashti Day, the three days' strike starting on 7th April 1945 caused by the proceedings instituted by the Police against four men who had been actively associated with the 19th of March strike and the short suspension of work on 3rd August. Though these strikes caused a lot of inconvenience to the travelling public, the attitude of the Union towards the latter can be gauged from the following words of the President of the Union : "The Union realises that under all circumstances the staff should be polite and civil and we wish to assure the public that the Union is making all possible efforts to impress this duty on the staff."

Conclusions.—The first conclusion to which we are led in the light of the above facts is that the strenuous and exacting nature of their work, the insufficient wages,

the long hours with very small or no periods of rest, inadequate welfare activities in the form of rest-rooms, dispensaries, sanitary facilities, canteens and so on, are not such as would make of the bus drivers a happy and contented body of men. This conclusion is borne out by the unrest and repeated strikes among the employees of the Company.

The second conclusion is that the driver is also not happy at home. His living in unhealthy and congested tenements, and his irregular hours of work which make him return home late in the night, not only cause physical hardship to his wife but also create psychological difficulties in husband-wife and parent-child relations.

Our third conclusion is that the nature of his work has a degenerating psychological effect upon the driver himself. His mind turns easily to frivolous pursuits and pernicious dissipations. He gets irritated very

easily, becomes rude and uncivil at times to the travelling public as well as the officers of the Company and acquires a false sense of prestige.

Certain union leaders suggest "Union Management Co-operation" in all the activities of the Company as the only solution for maintaining unbroken service in public utilities. May be, some day this will be found to be the most suitable method for postponing strikes and developing friendly relations between the employers and their employees. Whatever be the solution of the labour problem, the fact remains that the dehumanized worker, who labours under the chief forms of industrial exploitation, of low wages, long hours and poor working conditions, is coming into his own and, in union with his co-workers, is demanding that he be considered by the employer not as a subordinate but as a co-worker in the service of the community and that he be treated as such.

RECREATION FOR RURAL AREAS

G. D. SONDHI

While some attempts are being made for the betterment of our rural economy and the promotion of sanitation and medical aid, nothing has been planned, so far, to brighten the weary and dull life of the villagers. The author, pointing out this grave omission, has chalked out a programme of recreation which, he believes, will go a long way to make our villagers physically healthy, mentally buoyant, culturally rich and socially happy.

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"Sunken in a kind of peasant lethargy, which knew nothing but heavy and unremitting toil and occasional mad drunkenness and constant breeding, they are as absorbed in their minute little affairs and lightless meagre pleasures and crushing work as the very farm animals on the land beyond the city." (Taylor Caldwell in *"The Wide House."*)

The above quotation about American rural population at the time of Abraham Lincoln, is so pitifully true of the corresponding Indian section of the population.

Work, work, in biting cold, work, work, in broiling sun and pelting rain, year in and year out. And, at the end of it, a less than meagre sustenance, dilapidated tumble-down dwellings and patchwork rags to wear! Few, too few pleasures, a birth, an engagement, a marriage or an old man's funeral. But pleasures tintured with harassing thoughts of money borrowed, and debts unpaid and mounting, ever mounting upwards. This is the general picture of rural India.

The children play their simple games no doubt. But children will play anywhere and at any time, on dunghills and at funerals. The grown ups, the working women and men, have hardly any other pleasures. The fear of hunger is too acute, the village open-spaces, the erstwhile play-grounds, all encroached upon, and the threats of the moneylender ever oppressing.

In these depressing circumstances, their recreations can only be violent, passionate and bitter. Village feuds, fights and brawls, law-suits and oblivion-bringing-drink. And yet, even under present conditions much could be done to make village life cleaner, happier, and saner.

Something is being done towards sanitation, medical aid, and economic betterment. But nothing has been attempted, so far, about joy in the less arduous days between months of heavy toil, and in the hours when the day's work has been done.

There must not only be cleanliness and health, better food and clothing, but there must be something pleasurable and worthwhile to do in slack-times, something to look forward to at the end of the working-day.

A programme of recreation, well-devised and well-carried out, is a vital necessity. For, such a programme will not only bring joy, but also a social consciousness, a sense of community, a village-pride, and a spiritual satisfaction.

To devise a programme of rural recreation we must consider three things :

- I. Characteristics of rural life.
- II. Requisites of the programme in the light of these characteristics.
- III. Contents of the recreational programme.

I. *Characteristics of Rural Life.*—Rural occupations have three marked characteristics which distinguish them from most urban occupations:

- (i) Rural work is in the open fields, whereas most urban work is indoors, in shops, offices and in factories.
- (ii) Rural work calls mostly for physical effort.
- (iii) Rural work is seasonal.
- (iv) To these we should add another characteristic which though not inseparable from rural life is yet a prominent feature of it, the lack of literacy.

All these features of life will have an influence in determining the kind of recreation most suitable for the village population. Let us consider the bearing of each of these factors on the programme of rural recreation.

(i) *Open Air Life.*—This feature of rural life gives it a great advantage over urban life. Whereas the first essential for the townsmen is that they should be taken away from the dust, smell, smoke and germ-laden atmosphere of the towns into the open-air, the villagers are already there. The villagers thus start with an initial advantage, and the life in the open saves them from many of the diseases that play such a havoc among the townsmen. Not only does the open-air life save the villagers from some of the city diseases, but as they work in all kinds of weathers, they acquire a sturdiness of physique and a capacity to bear the vagaries of weather which is the envy of city-dwellers.

A recreational programme for the country-side will not thus have to stress open-air so much and may actually have to suggest some indoor occupations.

(ii) *Rural Work mostly Physical.*—The work in the country side, whether purely agricultural, or subsidiary to agriculture, is almost wholly on the physical plane. There is little of mental strain involved in it. Rules of thumb obviate thinking.

And as the rural economy involves a number of different kinds of daily chores, there is a certain amount of variety in village work. But though there is a variety in work, yet it does not escape being monotonous. The work is all on the physical plane and the interest that comes from a mixture of mental with physical work is not there:

This fact again will make a difference to our programme. We must supply elements of mental interest in easily assimilable doses, in our scheme of recreation. We shall also have to stress more the moral side of the games and of the other items of recreation, than the physical. The deadening monotony of work at the physical level will also have to be counteracted through games and other suitable means of emotional release. Thus mental, moral and emotional aspects of recreation will have to be kept specially in view when selecting our programme of activities.

(iii) *Seasonal Character of Rural Work.*—Though it is frequently said that the villager is always busy and has no leisure at any time of the year, yet it is undeniable that there are periods when the work is much less heavy than at others. In the Punjab, from February, the crops cease to require much attention and again from June to August when the crops have been harvested, the villager's slack time begins. And this is also the time when most of the litigation starts and village fights take place. (This increase in crime and litigation can be

directly traced to the slackening of work in the fields).

Though litigation is injurious socially, wasteful economically and harmful morally, it does serve a purpose outside itself—the purpose of emotional release. Pressure of work so far had left no time for indulging in feelings of enmity and hate, party faction and rivalry, but once the pressure is reduced and the numbness induced by physical work partly overcome, the emotions claim an outlet, and the season of fights and murders begins. To meet the onset of the slack season and to divert the combative instincts from anti-social into social channels, we must have a programme of recreation ready in advance. The agricultural slack time must be the recreational busy time.

(iv) *Lack of Literacy.*—This feature of rural life will have a bearing on the kind of recreational activities that are to be encouraged. Some of the prominent recreational activities of city-life, e.g., literary, debating and cultural clubs, will not be available for the country-side.

The programme will have to be comparatively simple and less exacting of attention. At the same time it must provide as much mental stimulus as is possible under the circumstances.

II. *Requisites of the Programme.*—To meet these conditions a many-sided programme of recreation would be needed. This programme must, however, fulfil the following conditions :—

(i) *It must not be too fatiguing.*—Its aim must be more to restore the disturbed balance than to provide excessive physical culture.

(ii) *It must not be dull.*—It should not consist of much physical drill, nor of much lecturing, nor of too much advising. Any

upsetting of balance in one direction or the other will make the programme uninteresting. There must be a judicious mixture of all ingredients, physical, mental, emotional and cultural.

(iii) *It must provide controlled emotional outlets,* i. e., provide opportunities for the safe indulgence in, or expression of, emotions that get suppressed during the working hours. There must be provided supervised opportunities for outshining rivals, for excelling, for local patriotism and even for party-spirit.

(iv) *It must be mentally and morally stimulating.*—But the stimulation must not be a very direct one, because that would make the programme didactic and therefore dull. A suitably composed recreational programme which partly leads, and partly urges their minds, is essential for this. But the ingredients of the programme must be comparatively of a simple kind. Any complexity which puzzles the villager, more than to a certain extent, will make the item less attractive, if not wholly repugnant, to him.

(v) *It must be such as encourages self-expression along personality-forming, social and health-giving lines.*—This would necessitate more self-activity in recreation than mere passive reception. The creative aspect of recreation must be the most important one if recreation is to be of real good to the villager. From this point of view the provision only of ready-made amusement, such as through radios, lectures and cinemas, is only useful to a limited extent.

(vi) *Finally, the recreational programme must not be an expensive one.*—The erstwhile village amusements and games satisfied this essential condition. This was particularly noticeable in the case of games and sports where hardly any implements were used,

or if used, were like the 'mugdar',¹ the common property of the village. Not only the games required no expensive outfit, but the villager further economised by wearing as little as possible during the games. This, while exposing his body to air and light on one side, saved the clothes being torn or worn out on the other.

III. *The Programme*.—Having seen the conditions of village life, and the essential conditions that a programme of rural recreation must satisfy, we are in a position to suggest a programme of activities. It is to be noted that the programme given below is of necessity of a very general kind and may have to be added to or curtailed, to suit local conditions. The programme may be roughly divided into three parts :—

- (i) Physical activities
- (ii) Cultural activities
- (iii) Social activities

(i) *Physical activities*.—Exercises, games and sports, folk-dances. Though the work in the country-side is mostly on the physical plane, and though our recreative activities must not be physically exhausting, yet physical activities are bound to make an important part of the programme for the following reasons :—

- (a) Exercises, like 'Swedish gymnastics, given to the children and the youth will help to develop their bodies on scientific lines and thus make them better fitted to bear the strain of work. They can also be used to give special development to muscles chiefly used in agriculture. To an extent, therefore, drill and gymnastics, even though dull, should be included in the programme.

- (b) Games and sports, by giving exercise to many of the muscles and organs not so much used in the slow agricultural work, will help to give a more harmonious development to the body.

- (c) But even more than this, games and sports will provide some of the most valuable means of imparting discipline, team and village-spirit, and of getting rid of surplus energy and of giving vent to suppressed emotions.

- (d) Physical activities are to be included in the programme precisely because the life of the villager is spent mostly on the physical plane. The recreation that he will like and appreciate most must, to a great extent, be on that plane too. This is the kind of tonic of excitement best appreciated by the villager.

But in the playing of games the real objective must, on one side, be the acquiring of discipline and the learning of co-operation and, on the other side, the provision of controlled channels for the expression of emotions and instincts. Rivalry and jealousy, the party-spirit and factional animosity must be sublimated into a healthy spirit of emulation. Only games played with due regard to rules can best serve this purpose. Thus great regard must be paid to the psychological, social and emotional value of the games.

Games and sports most suitable are firstly those that are already current in the locality. The rules of these should be standardised, but not made difficult to understand or too complicated to apply.

¹ Wooden heavy weight for lifting.

Kabaddi, Sonchi, 'Atya-Patya, etc., are admirable for the purpose. They are native to the soil and cost nothing.

Other games like volley-ball, which teach team-spirit and discipline and are not expensive, are also useful to give variety and novelty to the programme.

- Athletic sports, feats of physical strength, wrestling etc., should be greatly encouraged. In addition to games and sports, every effort must be made to keep alive, to revive and to introduce folk-dances and other folk-activities. For, such activities are native to the soil, give pleasure and provide expression, which no new activities, introduced from outside, can give.

(ii) *Cultural activities*.—These will comprise of all educative, artistic and creative activities through elementary lectures, cinema and magic lantern displays, musical and dramatic entertainments and the radio.

But in all these the aim, as far as possible, should be to emphasise self-activity and to promote self-expression. Lectures will not develop self-activity, but they can be directed towards teaching and leading to this. At the same time, direct instruction should not be made the staple recreational diet. It is now admitted that the instructive programme of the radio is a failure. The peasants are not much interested in it, and for the very good reason that instruction helps only those who are already instructed. The villager listens impatiently, because he does not follow intelligently this part of the broadcast. He is only interested when the musical or amusing part of the programme begins.

The radio can, however, be used for stimulating the minds of the school-going children. The radio programme, therefore,

should confine its educative activity mostly to the children and, as regards the adult villager, should seek chiefly to impart simple information regarding health, methods of cultivation and sale and disposal of his crops. It should also offer him some amusement. But there is a great danger in this latter activity also. It is apt to make the villager a passive recipient and one dependent on outside agency for his recreation. Our real objective should be to develop the faculty of self-amusement, individually and collectively, in the village population.

With this end in mind it would be more desirable to encourage music,—vocal and instrumental—, simple, mystery and folk-plays, fancy-dress competitions and the like. Some of the agricultural activities can also be given a tinge of sports and competition, such as straight-ploughing, fencing, winnowing, etc. Vegetable, flower, crops, dairy produce and cattle-shows should also be held from time to time. Competitions in sewing, knitting, embroidery, butter-making and clean home-keeping should also be organized for the women.

Most of the above-mentioned activities can be made the basis not only of intra-village, but of inter-village competitions. Suitably handled, they can be made the means of fostering a healthy village-consciousness and pride in one's village.

The musical and dramatic entertainments, when organized and conducted by the villagers themselves, will afford an outlet on one side for the creative impulse and on the other for the emotions. They will also minister to the hankering for beauty and its expression in art. Creativeness and self-expression, through one's own efforts, should be the keynote of this part of the programme. The programme, therefore, should assist the villagers to do

things rather than provide them ready-made amusement.

There are some items of recreation, however, which do not fall under the category of creative or self-directed. But these are useful for other reasons. Among such are to be included excursions, by rail or motor-bus or on foot, to places of religious or other interest. Such excursions should be encouraged both because of their effect in breaking the monotony of life and because of their educative influence.

(iii) *Social activities*.—Social activities need organizing as much as physical and cultural ones. Perhaps, in some ways, they are even more important. For, they will give the villagers a sense of belonging to one another, of being parts of one bigger whole. They will be, therefore, an invaluable agency for developing communal harmony and goodwill.

Some of the social activities are :—

- (a) Common action for keeping the village neat, clean and sanitary.
- (b) Common action against diseases and epidemics.
- (c) Common action against insects and vermin pests.
- (d) Common celebration of festivals ; and formation of social-service-squads.
- (e) Common action for education.
- (f) Common action for inter-village competitions, in sports, fruit and seed and flower and knitting and sewing shows, etc.
- (g) Common action in the field of co-operative work such as, cre-

dit, buying and selling, use of machinery, dairying, consolidation of holdings, prevention of erosion, etc.

- (h) Common action in reducing village-litigation.

To give a tangible shape to this spirit of common action, utmost effort must be made to organize village Panchayats. A village *panchayat-ghar* will provide not only a place for the meetings of the *panchayat*, but will also be a visible symbol of village unity and self-help. The *panchayat-ghar* should be built by common contributions of the villagers. The contributions may not be equal but every one should contribute something. This will enable each person to take interest and pride in it. And the *panchayat-ghar* must be such that every inhabitant of the village can be proud of it.

It may be asked, what relation social activities, of the kind enumerated above, have with recreation ? The answer is easy :—

- (a) Recreation is not merely play and fun. Its real purpose is to uplift the thoughts and actions of the people to a higher plane—the plane of creative and co-operative action. Its real purpose is to raise the morale of the people.
- (b) Recreative activities can be successfully carried out only if the people are imbued with the spirit of unity and of village-pride.
- (c) Social work, in many of its forms, is also recreative, e.g., conducting games and competitions, organizing feasts and festivals and dramatic shows, etc.

This three-fold programme of physical, cultural and social activities, if adopted, will lead not only to the physical betterment of village life, but to its economic, social and spiritual advancement as well.

The Organization.—How is the programme, outlined above, to be put into practice ?

Here we are faced with a number of difficulties—the large extent of the country, the magnitude and the diversity of the programme, the poverty and general backwardness of the people, and their inability to realise the full significance of the far-reaching environmental changes that are taking place. Considering all these, it is absolutely essential that, in the beginning at least, the initiative must come from the government. The scheme of organization, which will meet both rural and urban requirements, will have to be somewhat as follows :—

1. A central department of recreation.
2. Provincial departments of recreation.
3. District recreation committees.
4. Taluk or zail committees.
5. Village committees.
6. Municipal committees (for urban areas).

A central department of recreation.—The large-scale organization of recreation is such a new thing in India that a central department is absolutely essential to give a lead and to initiate the scheme.

It may be said that, in view of the variations in provincial climates, tastes, physiques, culture and education, recreational work should be left entirely to the provinces. There is considerable force in this. But recreational work has

two aspects. They are: (a) direction and (b) execution.

As far as execution is concerned the provinces will have to be mainly responsible for it. But in direction, considering the newness and the magnitude of the work, the central government will have to take the lead, just as it does in health, education and agriculture.

The central government shall have to make a general survey of the problem, to suggest ways and means of providing (a) leisure-time, (b) facilities for recreational activities, and (c) education in the proper use of leisure time. To meet (a) and (b) it may have to suggest legislative measures as well. The central government will also have to collect information about recreational work in other countries and to make suitable monetary grants to national sports and cultural organizations.

Moreover, the central government will have to establish some institutions to serve as models for the provinces. For instance, two colleges of physical education and play-leadership, one for men and the other for women; an institute for training in social service work; a central laboratory for research on the effects of occupations on health; a central museum of arts and crafts; travel information bureaus; and national academies of drama, dance and arts. To carry out all this work it will be necessary to have a central department of recreation.

Provincial departments.—To put the programme into work, provinces will have to set up provincial departments of recreation.

The functions of these will be :

- (a) In the light of suggestions from the central department to make plans on a provincial scale.

- (b) To secure gifts of money, play grounds and buildings.
- (c) * To maintain an adequate staff,
 - to initiate schemes and to supervise their carrying out in districts, talukas and villages.
- (d) To suggest legislative enactments on a provincial, district and municipal scale.
- (e) In time, to start provincial institutions of physical education, social service, arts, drama, dance, etc.
- (f) To make grants to provincial sports and cultural associations.

In all this work the provincial departments must enlist the help of non-officials on as large a scale as possible.

District, taluka, village and municipal committees of recreation.—The detailed work of execution of the programme will be the function of the taluka or zail, village and municipal committees, while the district committee will be the chief supervisory organization.

In the actual conduct of the programme the help of non-officials should be enlisted as much as possible. In the talukas and the villages special attempt should be made to enlist the help of ex-military persons and of the school-masters.

* * * *

The machinery for recreation work, suggested above, is of necessity of a tentative and sketchy kind. Many of the details will have to be filled in, as experience and local conditions suggest. But some such scheme will have to be adopted if an element of joy is to be brought into the lives of the millions, that dwell in towns and villages, and if their lives are to be retrieved from the monotony and drudgery that they now suffer from.

But that is not all. The programme of recreation, if suitably worked, will be the best means of infusing the right spirit of social service, of sublimating the unsocial urges and instincts, of bringing communal harmony, of propagating civic and village-pride, and of inculcating a sense of social-belonging.

NEWS AND NOTES

CO-ORDINATED NETWORK OF MEDICAL SERVICE

The United States will spend more than 1,000 million dollars in the next five years to launch a Co-ordinated Hospital Service Plan which will revolutionize hospital organization and which aims to take the best possible medical attention to the most isolated rural areas of the country.

The plan has grown up from the private discussions, articles in medical and architectural journals, consultations and the other free exchanges of opinion which characterize the democratic process. Finally, it has been encouraged and accepted by the United States Public Health Service and written into the law of the land in the Hospital Construction Act, which contemplates spending 1,134 million dollars for planning and hospital construction during the next five years.

Four types of institutions are included in the Co-ordinated Hospital Service Plan. They are the Base Hospital, the District Hospital, the Rural Hospital and the Rural Health Center.

The Rural Health Center may be only a dispensary with one or two emergency beds and an ambulance service which will take patients to a nearby hospital. Or it may have as many as ten or fifteen beds and it may keep such patients as maternity cases until they are discharged, particularly if the Rural Hospital is at some distance. It is planned for obstetrics, emergency medical service, X-ray and bacteriological laboratories, dentistry, an office or offices for a private physician or physicians and administrative public health offices.

This center, the lowest in the echelon of co-ordinated services will be, in one

sense, the most important. It will do most of the public health and health education work. It will be a contact arm of the medical profession with the people. It will, by advance diagnosis, attend to slight ailments and select the most serious cases for further and possibly more specialized medical attention, thus contributing to the nation's economy of medical manpower and its efficiency.

If the patient, who reports to the Rural Health Center, is found to have a serious injury or disease, he will be given expert first aid and will be sent on to the Rural Hospital. There, in addition to the facilities at the smaller unit, he will find specialists in internal medicine and an eye, ear, nose and throat clinic. Also, the Rural Hospital will be prepared for minor and uncomplicated surgery.

If the patient is in need of major surgery, he will be sent to the District Hospital—a larger institution with capacity up to several hundred beds. In addition to the facilities at the smaller institutions, the patient will find here major surgery, treatment for communicable diseases, pediatrics and physiotherapy. Basic teaching of nurses, interns and dieticians will be conducted at the District Hospital. It will be the major hospital for patients with all but rare or very serious diseases.

Role Of Base Hospitals.—The highest institution in the Co-ordinated Hospital Service Plan will be the Base Hospital or the Teaching Hospital. Included in this classification will be such world-famous institutions as Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Mayo Clinic, and many other less famous ones as well as many to be constructed. One

of their chief functions will be research, accompanied by graduate teaching, consultation and advanced seminars where the most authoritative decisions of the nation's medical scientists will be made. In addition to the facilities already mentioned, the typical Base Hospital will have a cancer clinic, a psychiatric service, a heart clinic and facilities for orthopedic surgery.

Each Base Hospital will serve a wide area containing a number of District Hospitals in various large cities and heavily populated counties. Rural Hospitals will be located in smaller towns and county seats and numerous Rural Health Centers will be strategically placed in isolated townships.

The Co-ordinated Hospital Service Plan had become a well-defined objective of the medical profession and of forward-looking citizens by the time it was considered by Congress at its last session. The Hospital Construction Act was the result of this concerted activity. When President Harry S. Truman signed the

Act at the White House recently, it became law and made three million dollars of Federal Funds immediately available to state governments to survey their hospital needs. The states must submit a project for such studies and must furnish two-thirds of the funds needed to carry it out before they can receive the one-third of their expenses offered by the Federal Government. More than 40 of the 48 states already have started their surveys.

Once the survey has been made and a plan consistent with the Co-ordinated Hospital Service Plan has been approved by the Federal Hospital Council, headed by Surgeon General Thomas G. Parran, the Federal Government has offered to grant one-third of the construction cost.

In addition to the three million dollars of Federal money available for surveys, 75 million dollars a year for five years is available for construction when matched, by twice as much from the states. The total amount of the Federal sponsored program will be 1,134 million dollars.

U. S. SPENDING MORE ON CHILD WELFARE

The Children's Bureau, which has operated for 13 years as part of the United States Department of Labor, has been transferred under the President's Government reorganization plan to the greatly strengthened Federal Security Agency, where it will operate with an almost doubled appropriation.

A total of 22 million dollars instead of the previous 11,200,000 dollars is now available for the Bureau to apportion to the various states to carry on work previously approved. Under the Social Security Act, as now amended, 11 million dollars will be available each year for maternal and child health services; 7,500,000 dollars

for crippled children; and 3,500,000 dollars for child welfare.

Although these three programs are sociologically related, the most interesting at the present time is child welfare. Miss Katherine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Bureau, said the newly available funds will be used to build on services already developed within the States and also to provide new types of services.

"Particularly," she continued, "we must do more to help the youngsters whose problems are so serious that they get into difficulties with the law."

Problem of Juvenile Delinquency.—Child welfare has become of increasing interest

as a post-war problem. The Department of Labor reported a 67 per cent increase in juvenile crime cases since 1938 and the same trend is reported by J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the national law enforcement agency in the Department of Justice.

As the Children's Bureau moves from the Department of Labor to its new home in the Federal Security Agency, a new idea is beginning to take hold in public thinking, according to Miss Lenroot. That is the idea that the welfare of all the children is a public responsibility, just as their education is.

The appropriation of increased funds for the current year is one indication of that public responsibility. It is an idea which has been encouraged throughout the 34 years of the varied life of the Children's Bureau by means of surveys, case histories and scientific studies. Now, many private agencies have joined the Children's Bureau in popularizing a new concept of the Government's role in social problems.

One of these is the American Association of Planning Officials, which concluded, as the result of a recent survey, that rehabilitation of slum areas everywhere in the nation would cost the public less in the long run than maintaining prisons for slum-bred criminals as well as stimulating growth of healthier and happier urban populations. This observation is based on a survey of case histories of criminals housed in penal institutions in the state of Wisconsin. The survey confirmed similar results of studies made in New York and Cleveland.

Slum-Bred Criminals more Costly than Slum Clearance.—The state welfare department in Wisconsin discovered that the city of Milwaukee's most severely blighted

area—the sixth ward—cost Wisconsin taxpayers nearly 150,000 dollars last year for maintenance of sixth ward inmates in the state prison and the state reformatory. At the other extreme Milwaukee's eighteenth ward, the city's best developed residential district, cost the public just 3,523 dollars for maintenance of its prison and reformatory inmates. Statistics relating to other wards in Milwaukee show the same results.

In Cleveland it was discovered that an area occupied by just 2.5 per cent of the city's population was responsible for 21 per cent of the city's murders and eight per cent of its juvenile delinquency. The slum area cost Cleveland tax-payers some two million dollars to maintain—in prison costs, police protection and the like—at the same time it supplied the city with only about 225,000 dollars in annual tax revenues.

In New York, the city's slum clearance agency totalled the cost of police, fire, sanitary and other services in specified slum districts. It compared these costs with those in better residential areas. Then the agency figured the relative receipts from taxes and found that, over a short period of years, slums cost the taxpayers more than clearing them away and building low-cost housing in their places.

Such practical considerations have aided the Children's Bureau in its struggle to place the problem of youth—the nation's greatest resource—before the people and to obtain a modern, sympathetic attitude toward children's problems. The labour unions, as another instance, have been of considerable aid in obtaining legislation prohibiting child labor. The costs of court procedure and of police protection encourage the establishment of boys' clubs and other recreational facilities under constructive guidance.

The trend also is marked by the passage, at the same session of Congress which strengthened the Children's Bureau, of the National Mental Health Bill. This bill will give children a lift along the hard road of growing up by the establishment of an increasing number of child guidance clinics.

Work of Child Guidance Clinics.—Child guidance clinics, as they exist now and will exist in increasing numbers, may be independent community clinics or they may be operated in connection with schools, hospitals, juvenile courts or other agencies. Children are referred to them by judges, ministers, physicians, schools, social agencies or merely through one mother telling another what the clinic did for her and her child.

They are manned by expert social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists who sympathetically interview the child referred to them and also interview the child's parents. In many cases, their advice is of as much use to the parents as to the child. Through long experience, they are able to find the basic causes of maladjustment and to make recommendations for removing them before they lead to delinquency or other serious results.

The child guidance clinics and other such facilities, the strengthened Children's Bureau and new emphasis on recreation and education are all symptoms of a realization in the United States that understanding treatment of children's problems is not merely forward-looking social planning. It is economical as well.

AUSTRALIA'S CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

Australia's educational facilities differ little from those of all advanced countries, but one interesting feature is that in every capital city is to be found a school of a peculiar kind.

This is a school with a full complement of teachers, but lacking visible pupils. Inspection of these "phantom" schools reveals that the pupils are scattered through the length and breadth of the continent. They are all children who, because of physical or other disability, are unable to receive education in the normal way.

Educational authorities were long faced with the problem of providing for these isolated children, most of whom live in the outback. The difficulty was successfully overcome by a system of education by correspondence. By this method, schooling is now regularly provided free to every child between the ages of 6 and 15 years who applies for it, irrespective of class or wealth.

Education by correspondence is no makeshift. It teaches children as well as, and in some respects better than, ordinary school methods. The curriculum is similar to that for ordinary children, but it provides for individual tuition, each pupil progressing at his or her own speed and with no undue emphasis placed on examinations. The usual subjects are covered, and also such unusual ones as horticulture, poultry raising, handicrafts, cookery and home supervision and decoration, sewing and embroidery, art and technical drawing.

Pupils regularly receive instruction leaflets, either weekly or fortnightly. These are supplemented by general sheets, the purpose of which is to keep the child up-to-date on work already done and the latest current events. There is also a separate arithmetic sheet by means of which instruction in this subject may keep pace with the child's attainments. Postage is free and the leaflets replace text-books.

The latter are required only for such things as English authors and maps, and those are available to all school children in cheap editions.

Two essential features of the system are the fitness of the supervisor and the close personal relationship developed between teacher, parents and pupil. Supervisors, usually some member of the family, are carefully advised. They are frequently mothers, who, despite the long, hard hours of the outback house-wife, generally display great anxiety to ensure satisfactory progress in the education of their children ;

an anxiety that is usually the greater in proportion to the shortcomings of their own education. Wherever possible, parents and pupils are encouraged to visit teachers during vacations, hundreds of them doing so throughout the year. It is usual for the close personal attachments to grow, the teacher coming to be regarded as a distant member of the family and a guide, philosopher and friend.

(W. P. Goodwin in "*The Indian Journal of Adult Education*" Vol. VII. No. 6. November 1946.)

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PAYS ITS WAY

Proof is now available in the United States that vocational rehabilitation is a good Government investment financially, entirely aside from its unlimited moral benefits. Figures are now available for the first complete fiscal year during which the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has operated with financial authority limited only by the extent of need.

These figures show that the Federal Government paid 7,135,440 dollars as its share of the rehabilitation bill for blind people alone and thereby raised their income to such an extent that it collected about six million dollars in Federal income taxes from them during the first year after they obtained work. On the basis of their earnings at the time they applied for rehabilitation, it is estimated that these people would have been taxed only one million dollars.

In other words, the Federal Government stands to gain five million dollars a year from an original investment of 7,135,440 dollars.

During the 1945 fiscal year, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation served 161,047

men and women who were blind, deaf, cripple or otherwise handicapped and of these 41,925 completed the rehabilitation process and obtained jobs during the year. Of those obtaining jobs, 79 per cent were unemployed when they applied for help and 18 per cent had never worked. Before they were aided they received wages and subsistence of approximately 12 million dollars a year from odd jobs, part-time employment, friends and public and voluntary agencies. After rehabilitation they earned salaries totalling 73,855,700 dollars a year.

Aside from additional taxes paid into the national treasury, the Federal Government saves the amounts of money it would have to pay from its social security fund to those of its clients who are covered by the Social Security Act. Also, successfully employed citizens consume more, earn more and put more money into circulation to help bolster the national economy.

And the monetary savings of vocational rehabilitation are considered only a minor by-product. The conversion of tax-

consumers to tax-payers means happiness, good citizenship and social usefulness. There are no financial yard-sticks to measure the difference between a self-reliant worker carrying his own responsibilities and a glum, depressed citizen dependent on others for everyday needs.

The rehabilitation office operates a public service, primarily for civilians with physical or mental impairments. Although handicapped veterans are not excluded, their needs are usually attended to by the Veterans' Administration under separate legislation. The office offers its services as a legal right to all citizens in order to preserve or restore their ability to work for pay.

The Federal Government operates its rehabilitation programme in the 48 states and territories through local government organizations. The National Government shoulders certain expenses of the local governments, which have amounted to about 75 per cent of the cost of the programme.

In order that the programme may apply directly to the problem of increasing his working capacity, the client must fulfill certain conditions. He or she must :—

1. Be of working age.
2. Have a substantial job handicap because of physical or mental disability.
3. Have a reasonably good chance of becoming employable or of getting a more suitable job through the rehabilitation services.

Eight Steps to Rehabilitation.—Vocational rehabilitation is divided traditionally into the following eight steps :—

The first task is to find the disabled person promptly so that rehabilitation

may begin before idleness and hopelessness cause complications.

Secondly, the client is given a physical examination to determine the exact nature of his disability and an aptitude test to determine the type of work for which he is best suited.

Third, the guidance and counselling service confers with the client and formulates the rehabilitation plan and the job goal. This service continues until the client is satisfactorily placed in a job.

Fourth, the client is given physical restoration, when needed, such as medical, surgical or psychiatric services, physical and work therapy, hospitalization, dentistry, drugs, medical supplies and artificial devices of any type needed.

Fifth, the training for the specific job the client hopes to fill.

Sixth, auxiliary services such as maintenance, transportation, books and training materials are furnished.

Seventh, the handicapped person is placed in the job which best suits his ability.

Lastly, the rehabilitation service follows the progress of the employed worker in his new job, offering further care if needed.

This procedure has evolved from 26 years of experience in the Federal state program. Congress passed the first Vocational Rehabilitation Act in 1920. Fifteen years later the first permanent appropriation of funds gave the programme its continuing authority. Four years later, the programme was again expanded and the statutory limit on amounts which could be used to match state appropriations was lifted.

A report to the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives during the recent Congress indicates that present aid to the physically handicapped may be expanded in the future in spite of the urgent need for Government economy.

NEW PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE LABOUR EFFICIENCY

In many industrial plants in the United States there is an increasing effort to develop new programmes to improve job conditions and to increase incentives and training opportunities for workers. The need for this programme has been intensified by two post-war factors—the tremendous demand for the products of industry and a nation-wide manpower shortage which threatens to limit that production.

One of the leading newspapers of American commerce, the *Wall Street Journal*, recently made a survey of this trend in nine of the most important industrial cities. The report showed that many industrial firms are spending more money and effort than ever before on employee benefits such as health services, retirement funds, better working conditions, extensive “within-industry training” and more recreational facilities.

Another indication of this trend, and its place in industry's long-range planning, comes from the Austin Company of Cleveland, Ohio, which designs and builds new plants for industry. This company reports that new plant designs incorporate extensive recreational features. One new factory provides the employees with a large outdoor area for tennis, handball and similar sports and inside facilities for locker rooms and showers. One wing of this plant will be used for inside game rooms, an assembly room and sun deck. This manufacturer, along with many others, has installed a restaurant for employees where meals are provided at cost.

“Color engineering” also plays an increasingly important part in plant design. Walls are painted in tones which give workers the illusion of more space and air; blue-tinted glass is used on walls with a southern exposure to allow the benefit of sunlight but eliminate the glare. The factory machinery also is painted in such a way as to remove “visual clutter.”

Some of these programmes are revivals of patterns developed during the war when every hour of man-power had to be utilized. Designed now to meet the challenge from competition within industry itself, which demands higher standards of production and quality, their aim is to better conditions for the worker and to bring greater and more efficient production as a whole.

Free Health Service for Workers.—Health benefits for workers are of major importance in many of these programmes. The Abbott Laboratories has been a pioneer in this field and offers its workers some free health services and also it provides two dollars for each visit an employee makes to the doctor and three dollars for each home visit made by the doctor. The company found that this plan worked out so well, it later extended this service to dependents of employees, at a minimum cost for the added benefit. Among the service it offers free is an eye examination and glasses, if they are needed for work only. The company plans to extend this service to include free dental care in the future.

The new training programmes within

industry are geared to increase the skills of workers and also to increase the knowledge and effectiveness of foremen and executives.

The Director of the "Training Within Industry Foundation" has summarized the reasons for focusing attention on this particular factor. Increasing labor shortages, he pointed out, are expected to add greatly to the cost of production by untrained and inexperienced workers. Furthermore, since industry has adopted a system of plant-wide seniority, as suggested by labor unions, there is a constant reshuffle of workers who need extra training for greater efficiency on the job.

New Approach to Increase Production.—

The Training Foundation has suggested the following procedure for presenting the new programme to the workers :—

1. Instead of approaching the worker with the threat of discipline, or with the threat of training him, the foreman's approach should be "We have a problem." The foreman tells the worker just what he or the department are up against, in the form of low production, high scrap, accidents, etc. The

foreman indicates the pressure on him to remedy the situation.

2. Instead of criticizing the worker's performance, which might lead to lengthy excuses, and resistance to training, the foreman reviews each step in the job to see how it may be changed or improved. Steps required in doing the job are listed, and discussed by worker and foreman. In most cases the worker will advance one or more suggestions and the employer will do likewise. This is the key to the worker's willingness to accept training.
3. From the review of the steps of the job, it becomes obvious that improvements and changes in methods alone will not solve the problems.

Following this mutual discussion of the problems, the worker will either "go to work" where he has known how to do the job, but has not been applying himself properly, or he will accept some training and use it to further his progress in his work, thus making a contribution to production in the plant.

A REHABILITATION PLAN

The firm of Johnson, Matthey & Co. Ltd. have for some years taken a close personal interest in all their employees in need of rehabilitation and have worked out a programme of co-operation with hospital and convalescent facilities. From the moment an accident takes place the firm is in direct touch with the local hospital to which the case is sent. A personal visit is paid as soon as possible to the injured employee to assure him

that his job, or in the event of a serious injury, a similar job, awaits him on recovery. In co-operation with the hospital the most suitable form of convalescence is determined, and, as far as possible, treatment is continuous through both hospital and convalescent stages. The firm keeps in touch with the injured employee during this treatment and all letters from him receive priority for reply. The object throughout is to re-assure the employee

about his job, about the firm's concern and interest and thus prevent the development of any neurosis or anxiety. These contacts enable the firm to plan their own rehabilitation programme to fit each individual case and to provide special work, if necessary, for men whose recovery is not complete. The aim is, as far as possible, to enable a man to return to his pre-accident job as soon as possible.

For slight accidents, with the consent of the hospital, sitting down or light messenger duties are provided and these continue until the hospital issues a certificate that the man is fit to resume his

normal work. All such employees work curtailed hours i. e., from 9-00 a. m. to 4-30 p. m., and 9-00 a. m. to 12 noon on Saturdays, to enable them to travel outside the normal rush hours. On the financial side it is realized that it is important that there should not be heavy loss in earnings. Men away at hospital or convalescent home receive sick benefit from the firm and those at work full wages, despite their shorter hours. Time off to visit the hospital is allowed.

(*"Industrial Welfare and Personnel Management"* Vol. XXVIII. No. 309. November-December 1946).

PENAL INSTITUTIONS AIM AT REFORMING THEIR INMATES

In the months since the winning of the war the United States has been taking stock of itself. Prison breaks have been headline stories recently and coupled with every escape is an investigation of the Federal, state, county, or municipal prison involved. Such investigations are now showing how curtailed was penal efficiency during the war. Guards were subject to service in the armed forces, materials for prison workshops were often scarce, and many of the penological leaders were busy beating the Axis. Investigations, however, like the one Louis E. Lawes, ex-warden of Sing Sing Prison, conducted on Massachusetts' penal institutions at the invitation of Governor Maurice Tobin, and like the one a Congressional Committee is now making in the District of Columbia, can in the long run be only beneficial.

The United States' penal institution of today has come far from the early stocks and pillories of the colonial era, yet much of the credit in the history of prison reform goes to an Italian jurist, economist and philanthropist, named

Cesare Beccaria (1735-94), who wrote a vehement attack on the criminal law of his time. Another equally great reformer was John Howard (1726-90), an English Sheriff who published, after a thorough inspection, his *"State of the Prisons in England and Wales."* This treatise laid the foundations upon which the world created the prison system of the nineteenth century.

The callous handling of prisoners of the days of Howard and Beccaria is now a thing of the past. No longer are the men and the women, the sick and the well, the old and the young, the debtors and the criminals all thrown together helter-skelter. Segregation of prisoners and elimination of physical suffering are common requirements.

Guards Given Special Training.—A further goal of re-education, re-motivation, and social adjustment has been set for the United States Penal Institutions and has been reached in a variety of ways. A general improvement in the personnel of prison officials and administrators has been initiated or completed in every state. No

longer is the warden chosen for his physical strength alone, but officials are brought under civil service laws which allow no politician to appoint an unqualified, inexperienced man to "boss" a reformatory. Guards are given thorough courses of training in their duties. James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, says that training of guards should be in three phases: (a) a general over-all picture of the job, institution and its organization; (b) on-the-job training for the particular task the guard is to perform; (c) a programme of "refresher" courses to teach new methods, keep up morale, develop loyalty, and uncover grievances. Such steps indicate a sharp change from the retributive or punitive idea of earlier days to the reformative theory of an enlightened era.

Conditional liberation is awarded to the prisoner with a "good behaviour" record so that he may be paroled in less than his original sentence. Conditional liberation promptly teaches the new inmate that it does not pay to violate rules. If he does, he is punished immediately and forfeits early freedom. Good conduct for an extended period of time can become a habit and many released parolees take the habit back to society.

The conditional liberation system, to be most effective, is combined with a reformation plan in which the prisoner has opportunity to climb the ladder to social acceptance. In such a system the inmate is deprived of opportunities for self-indulgence but is given tools for self-development.

Educational Opportunities.—In his book, "Prison Education," Dr. W. R. Armstrong points out that prison education must prevent the deterioration of the individual caused by confinement. It must also destroy the undesirable attitude the prisoner has

brought with him and it must inculcate new habits and interests. Courses offered are varied and interesting. In one typical modern prison that Dr. Armstrong describes, there are ten different agricultural subjects, twelve business opportunity subjects, seventeen applied science subjects, and twenty-four academic subjects for the ambitious to choose from. Classes are popular with the prison inmates despite the difficulties encountered in instructing a group of men with a wide range in levels of ability and intelligence. To overcome such difficulties more individual instruction and modern teaching methods such as films are now being employed, since the whole idea is to give a way of self-help and self-discovery to the man sent to an institution, to direct his attitude-toward-society into beneficial channels.

With the educational programme is linked the prison employment programme. Labor is a remedial agent, both physically and morally. An idle prison encourages both physical and mental degeneration, with the end result trouble in the form of jail breaks and riots. Most of the states have a system of prison industries like that of Massachusetts which is carried out with the support of the state legislature. Prison industries are based on a centralized and co-ordinated industrial planning system for the various prisons which tries to prevent unfair competition with private enterprise.

Although the original aim of prison industries was to make the jail self-supporting, it is the modern trend now to have as many self-supporting industries in one jail as possible so that the prisoners may be trained in a number of different trades. At San Quentin, for instance, submarine nets and furniture, cargo slings and mess trays, model airplanes and mattress covers

were produced for the Navy while at Leavenworth the prison inmates turned out brooms and shoes for the Army. As an example of how modern prisons connect educational and vocational training, at the federal prison at Atlanta, Georgia, a man may study journalism and then advance to work on the prison paper. Another inmate may study printing or book-binding and graduate to work on the prison magazine. On top of all this about two-thirds of the wages paid Federal prisoners for their labor goes home to their dependents which increases the convict's self-respect by sharing in his domestic responsibilities.

Classification of Prisoners.—Another indication of the reform progress in American prisons is the idea that it is both unwise and unnecessary for the states to spend large sums of money in the construction of thick-walled, heavily guarded prisons. Experience has shown that only a small proportion of the prison population needs fortress-like buildings. Smaller institutional housing means more segregation of prisoners and more individual training in either educational or vocational courses. Thus "inescapable" Alcatraz houses only 300 incorrigibles and "minimum and medium custody institutions" house two-thirds of the Federal prisoners.

The investigations now being conducted all over the United States are turning in a remarkable number of logical proposals for the betterment of U. S. penal system. Fundamentally they all originate from the same theory that the treatment of criminals by society is for the protection of society. Such treatment's great object is moral

regeneration, so Corinne Bacon, a twentieth century reformer who has influenced thinking on penal lines, says in "Prison Reform." To bring it about, classification of prisoners based on their characters and histories is important. So is the fact, Bacon points out, that hope is a more potent agent than fear, that rewards for good conduct, industry and learning will do more than punishment; that persuasion will last longer than physical force.

Bacon's aims are directed to a convict's self-respect through religion and education. Important, too, is giving an opportunity to the prisoner to better his condition through his own exertions; to limit sentences only by satisfactory proof of reformation instead of just measuring a sentence by the passing of years. And, Bacon says, when a man's time is up, efforts should be made to find a position for the discharged convict so that he will not again become a burden on society.

Changes of other kinds are being recommended by the investigation boards. Civil service employees qualified by training to re-educate the inmates are needed. In order that every prison will be reasonably controlled, a prisoner governing board like the one inaugurated in the Chillicothe (Ohio) Federal Prison some years ago, should meet with the warden so that new rules and regulations can be handed down with a minimum of confusion and distrust. Finally, but not least in a country where personal liberty is so highly valued, proposals are set forth to indemnify any man who has been wrongfully subjected to imprisonment.

CENSUS BUREAU AIDS SOCIAL SCIENCES

The United States will become a mature nation in the year 1990, according to its Bureau of the Census. In that year its population will reach a maximum of 165,000,000 and begin to decline.

The Census Bureau also says that women outnumber men by more than 1,000,000. As of July 1, there were 46,403,210 women of voting age and votes cast in the 1944 presidential election totalled 47,976,263. Thus women, if they voted together, might control national affairs.

For years the Census Bureau has collected these and other statistics of use to merchants, doctors, farmers and people in other occupations. Even undertakers consult census figures before ordering their coffins for the year. Recently, however, its figures have come to be of more use than ever as aids to the social sciences.

During the war, the Bureau kept track of trends in unemployment, women in industry, labor needs, marriages, the birth rate, infant mortality, accident rates and population movement. Since the war, it has added statistics on demobilisation, employment dislocations, resumption of peacetime commerce and the effects of post-war uncertainties upon family life.

Help to Social Scientists.—The future task for the Census Bureau in aiding the social sciences is to be of even greater importance, in the opinion of Dr. Philip M. Hauser, Assistant Director of the Bureau. In a paper addressed to 25 foreign demographers who visited the United States recently, Dr. Hauser discussed the effect of atomic energy on social research :

"The laboratory of the nuclear physicist has, with the fission of the atom, greatly enlarged both man's understanding and control of the universe ;" he said,

"but it also has produced potentially grave social problems in the prospects of a new and far-reaching industrial revolution and in the fearful use of the energy of the atom as a weapon of war.

"It is clear," continued Dr. Hauser, "that the social sciences have not yet reached a point of maturity which enables them to provide the kind of knowledge adequate to the task of contributing to the solution of these and other problems precipitated by rapid scientific and technological innovation."

Dr. Hauser deplored the fact that statistics for the use of social scientists are usually a by-product of figures obtained for the direction of Government agencies, commerce and industry, but he looked forward to the day when that situation will change.

"It may be expected," he said, "that social science research activities in this country and throughout the world will be greatly expanded in the coming years. In this expansion it will be of the utmost importance that the closest co-operation be maintained between such fact-producing agencies as the Census Bureau and the research staffs of other Government agencies, the universities and private research organizations.

"It is not an overstatement to say that the continued existence of our civilization and even of man himself may depend on our ability to solve the complex social, economic and political problems of the modern world. The social scientist is, in a sense, dedicated to contributing his share to the solution of these problems—a share in no small measure dependent on the calibre and outcome of his research activities."

Twelve Bureau Divisions.—The 25 demographers from foreign countries to whom Dr. Hauser addressed his paper visited the Census Bureau at Suitland, Maryland, near Washington. They found that the huge organization with which the United States faces its future need for social statistics is divided into 12 sections, including, among others the Population Division, the Agriculture Division, the Business Division, the Foreign Trade Division, the Geography Division and the Industry Division.

A Machine Tabulating Division has been set up in recent years to manage the large battery of mechanical tabulators which process the information collected. It has become the largest and most interesting of the divisions physically and it serves as a model throughout the world for the mechanical handling of statistics.

The present Census Bureau is a considerable advancement from the organization which began functioning shortly after the nation won its independence. The first census was taken of the 13 original colonies along the Atlantic seaboard 156 years ago in compliance with Article I, Section 3, of the United States Constitution,

which provides that members of the House of Representatives will be elected from the various states according to their population and that a census must be taken every ten years to determine the number of Representatives to which each state is entitled.

The first census was comparatively simple. It was based on only five questions, asked of each person. However, as the nation expanded the number of inquiries included in succeeding censuses increased. The census came to be more than a mere counting of inhabitants.

Since 1902, when the Bureau was established as a permanent agency, much of the work of collecting the vast body of statistical facts required monthly, quarterly, or annually for the operation of the Government has been given to it. Between decennial censuses the Bureau now regularly reports on agriculture, industry and commerce, the labor force, foreign trade, and a host of other characteristics and activities of the people. In fact, the decennial censuses, which for more than 100 years provided the principal statistics of the nation, are now but one important phase of a continuous and integrated programme of quantitative facts.

Speech delivered by Sir Sorab Saklatvala, Chairman of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, at the Press Conference introducing the Visiting Professors from the United States of America at Bombay House, Bombay, on 6th November 1946.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

It has for sometime been the ambition of the Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences to bring out Visiting Professors from the United States to help in the expansion of the Institute in new directions. As the United States stands foremost among the many countries which have made remarkable progress in the field of applied social sciences, such a programme will help the development of new types of social services in our country.

During his recent visit to the United States, Dr. Kumarappa tried his best to secure the services of an outstanding Professor of Medical Social Work to come out to India to help in organising this section of the Institute. But owing to conditions created by the War, the Universities themselves were short of staff and no suitable person could be found.

Before he returned to India, he entrusted this matter to the State Department. Now that most of the ex-service personnel

are back, it has been possible for the Department to secure a suitable person. The candidate chosen is Miss Lois Blakey of the Division of Social Service Administration, Louisville University, Kentucky. She received her education at the University of Minnesota and then joined the Smith College Department of Social Work which is well-known for its specialization in psychiatric and medical social work. Later, she was Director of Field Work in the State Universities of Washington, St. Louis and Missouri. During the war she carried on a survey of Medical Social Work and Social Service Agencies in England, Scotland and the Continent. After which she joined the Red Cross and served in the Seventh General Hospital in Europe till recently.

In this connection it may not be out of place to make reference to some pertinent recommendations of the Health Survey and Development Committee which was appointed by the Government of India, some three years ago, to make a survey of the present position with regard to health conditions and health organisation in British India and to make recommendations for future developments. Among their many important recommendations it is gratifying to note that the training of hospital social workers receives due recognition. The Committee has recommended some acceptable expansion in the courses offered at this Institute to enable students who undergo post-graduate training in social work to receive specialised instruction.

The courses at present offered by the Institute provide the necessary professional foundation for medical social practice. But recently, the Institute has prepared plans for the training of practitioners in this field. According to this plan a full course for training in medical social work will be offered in the curriculum covering

the major diseases and the social factors which affect or cause them, and the functions, organization and administration of hospital social service departments. This expansion in the curriculum takes into consideration the fact that since medical social work is practised in an area where medicine and social work meet, it must be continuously related to each. Now that Miss Blakey has arrived these plans can easily be put into operation.

Miss Mary Sweeny has come at the invitation of the All-India Women's Conference and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. Though her visit is sponsored by the Agricultural Missions Inc. of New York City, it is an arrangement of the office of International Information and Cultural Affairs of the U. S. Department of State. She is an educationist of long experience and distinguished career, having been connected for more than twenty years with the Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, which pioneered the movement for education for marriage and family life. Her field of specialization extends also to Child Development and Pre-School Education. We are extremely fortunate in having her to stimulate new interest in the scientific study of the child. This is a field where America has carried on outstanding experimental studies. The research work done by Dr. Gesell and many other noted specialists are yet unknown in India. She will lecture at the Tata Institute as a Visiting Professor for some time and also conduct study groups for parents and secondary school teachers in different localities, during her stay in Bombay, after which she plans to visit and lecture at important cultural centres in India. This part of her programme the All-India Women's Conference will arrange. I am glad to welcome both Miss Blakey and Miss Sweeny and to introduce them to you."

BOOK REVIEWS

What of the Blind? (Vol. II), Edited by HELGA LENDE, New York, American Foundation for the Blind Inc., 1941. Pp. 206.

The serious study of problems affecting the blind may be said to have commenced with Diderot's "*Letter on the Blind*," published in 1749. Since then so much—scientific as well as opinionated, mostly the latter—has been written in so many languages, and the materials are scattered in so many books, pamphlets, bulletins, monographs, journals, and so on, that it is only the patient experts who can justly appraise the extent of progress in this particular field and evaluate the facts propagated by social reformers, educators, and workers for the blind. Blindness, however, is such a pervasive problem in every country, being, like law, no respecter of persons, that the restriction of all genuine knowledge of the subject only to the so-called experts can never serve the best interests of the persons concerned. Certain usable facts and figures about this physical handicap and about the approved methods of its prevention must be shared by all so that every sightless child or adult, irrespective of the social level to which he or she belongs, may be cared for in a way which assists in his or her becoming a useful and contributing member of society.

In response to this demand, Miss Helga Lende, the well-known Librarian of the American Foundation for the Blind, New York City, collected a number of articles, touching the various aspects of blindness in the United States, and published them in 1938 in a Volume, entitled, "*What of the Blind?*" All the problems of blindness and of the blind could not, obviously, be treated in the compass of a single book of 214 pages. Thus, a second Volume—the one under review—was added

to the book in 1941. To quote from the preface of this companion Volume :

"Volume II covers problems of a more specific nature, dealing with subjects not elaborated on in Volume I, as well as presenting a picture of recent advances and developments."

Like the first, the second Volume is not a homogeneous work, but is a compilation of seventeen articles—all written by renowned scholars in the specific area, six of whom are without sight. It would be extremely interesting indeed if the central theme of each of these articles could be conveyed to the readers, but the imposed barrier is the limitation of space.

One fact—very suggestive to the present reviewer—must, however, be presented here : the book opens with an article contributed by a blind person, and it also ends with an article written by another blind person. The first contributor is the Editor of a Newspaper, and the second, the Executive Director of the American Foundation for the Blind. The present reviewer is not, by any means, sure whether the Editor of this Volume had any definite purpose in view for opening and ending the book with the writings of two sightless individuals or the arrangement was merely accidental.

The book has removed a long-felt need and it should be widely read both by the professional workers for the blind as well as by lay persons.

The get-up of the book is very attractive as most American publications are.

S. C. R.

Industrial Co-operation—Its Possibilities within a Balanced Movement. By J. B. TAYLER. Bombay : Industrial Co-operatives Organizing Committee, 1946. Pp. 44. Re. 1-0-0.

Prof. J. B. Tayler writes this book with the firm conviction that co-operative economy is capable of eradicating all the evils of monopolistic exploitation, violent alterations of booms and slumps, conflict between the employer and employee and the extreme states of poverty and wealth.

In the first section "Democracy in the Work-Shop and Factory"—the author points out that committees constituted of the workers and owners can partake not only in discussions relating to working conditions, social amenities and recreational facilities but also in the performance of the work itself. He thinks that in course of time these committees can become a fuller democratic organization like the workers' co-operatives. After establishing proper co-ordination among the producers' societies, they may enter into partnership with consumers' co-operatives. This "producer-consumer-alliance" on co-operative lines can solve many industrial problems.

In the second section, Prof. Tayler explains how in a co-operative economy private profit and interest will give way to ethical considerations. The just means of securing capital, fixing prices and dividing profit for different types of societies are briefly delineated here. So long as a "grasping spirit" is not created, financial inducements are permitted in order to secure better results. A few new problems are visualised, partly treated and left for further study and research.

The third section deals with human values in relation to production and consumption. Work, in whatever form it may be, should be for developing and creating better and stronger personalities, instead of curbing or blunting its finer

sides. According to the author, industrial welfare activities, however successfully they may be administered in the West, is not so much an integral part of the system as a frill added by humanitarian sentiment. Commercialised forms of recreation can never perform the vital functions of moulding a sound mind in a healthy body. Where the private entrepreneur failed, the co-operator is able to succeed because of mutual confidence of the members. Besides, in industrial co-operation all the advantages of scientific management can be safely secured.

The last section outlines the federal structure of the co-operatives. To harmonize the whole productive system with the needs of the final consumer, suitable federations and joint bodies will be essential. The "consumer-producer-relationships" may smoothly and efficiently raise individual and collective standard of living. These federations can bring together co-operators of different occupations and divergent interests. The wide range of profitable activities which such unified associations can carry out are briefly presented. Thus the co-operative movement can become an indefinite net-work of human associations, touching rightly all aspects of their life-contacts, creating a more and more abundant life for the individual and the community.

As far as we understand the present trend of co-operation is more a compromise than a way between capitalism and socialism. Here also self-interest of a group which can even seek monopoly may be substituted. The whole system is so elastic that it can be well-used or abused.

The subject discussed is too vast for a small book like the one under review,

Therefore, ideas are presented in a rather compressed manner and the average mind will find it difficult to follow the arguments with ease. Prof. Tayler, no doubt, has accomplished a big task by discussing within a limited space such complicated

and controversial issues. To the practical co-operative organiser, this book offers a philosophy worth considering; for right philosophy alone can lead us to right action.

K. P

War-time Labour Conditions and Reconstruction Planning in India. By INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, Montreal : The International Labour Office, 1946. Pp. 113. 50 cents.

At this critical juncture of widespread industrial unrest immediately on the close of the war, it is but most opportune that the International Labour Office has come out with a revealing report on "War-time Labour Conditions and Reconstruction Planning in India." It comprises of two sections. In the first part the report presents in broad outline the effects of the sudden war-time industrial expansion on labour. Since the war caused a tremendous increase in employment in all war industries, the Government had to face new problems concerning the training of workers, their welfare and remuneration, and the maintenance of proper industrial relations.

The Government devised many schemes to train the semi-skilled and the unskilled workers. Of these, the Bevin Scheme is a typical example. As regards welfare, the Government appointed a Welfare Adviser and several Labour Welfare Officers to look after the amenities of workers. To maintain proper industrial relations, the Government made arbitration compulsory in the event of a labour dispute and created an organization consisting of a Labour Commissioner and several Conciliators, who had to tackle such disputes as and when they arose.

In terms of real wages, the war-time increase in the remuneration of the worker was not considerable as wages rose less rapidly than the prices of commodities. The report observes that "the cost of

living bonus paid to the workers was insufficient to enable them to maintain even their low pre-war standard of living unimpaired."

By far the greatest contribution of the war, according to the report, is the reorientation of the thinking of the worker. "Indian labour was not content with fair conditions of work; it wanted fair conditions of life as well." It demanded liberty, equality of opportunity and "fraternity, and all pervading sense of human brotherhood unifying all classes and nations." Thus Indian labour was international in outlook. To quote the report: "The war was full of potentialities for good. It was both a war and a revolution, a revolution which demanded a fundamental change in the terms of association between man and man, nation and nation."

The lack of a well-organized trade-union movement, widespread illiteracy and the lack of nourishing food are, according to this study, the three major obstacles which Indian labour has to conquer before it secures social justice. In the words of the report, "poor physique and illiteracy are serious drawbacks, which Indian labour can be enabled to overcome only by long-term planning."

In the second part, the report merely summarises the post-war economic plans of the Central and Provincial Governments, the "Bombay Plan" of the Industrialists

and the "Peoples' Plan" of the Indian Federation of Labour. The report finds one common feature in all these plans despite the differences in their approach. All are agreed on the indispensable necessity of raising the standard of living by considerably augmenting the *per capita* income, which today is perhaps the lowest in the world. This has to be done if serious international consequences are to be averted. The gap between the economic prosperity of the U. S. A. and the West on the one hand, and the utter poverty of India and the East on the other is already too wide. "As the result of this gap," observes the report, "the more superficial differences between the East and the West are intensified and the cleavage between the two tends to be deepened in a world in which unity has become an urgent necessity." "Not until the gap is reduced," the report goes on to say, "will it be possible to find the expansive markets indispensable for the products of the present day industrial civilization or to ensure that close association of the peoples of the world which alone provides in the last analysis an adequate safeguard of the maintenance of peace."

India today is on the threshold of great happenings. She has to take many vital decisions and plan her future, both

political and economic, on sound and enduring lines. In this common endeavour, the statesman, the economist and the common man alike would find this report highly useful in as much as it reveals the fundamental defects and drawbacks of our national economy, which have to be remedied by well-thought out planning and concerted action.

This report, unlike many others of its kind, makes quite an interesting reading as it cogently presents the vicissitudes the country had to pass through in the course of its change over from a peace to a war economy and the various efforts made by the Government to meet the emergencies as and when they arose.

This study is the work of Mr. Raghunatha Rao of the I. L. O. who undertook an extensive study of the effects of the war on conditions of labour in India. And as Mr. E. J. Phelan, the Director-General of the I. L. O. points out in his preface to the report, "it is intended to be no more than a brief presentation of information on war-time conditions and on plans for social and economic improvements after the war." But one might add that this investigation is more than a mere statement of facts. It is thought provoking.

C. S. K.

Food Control and Nutrition Surveys—Malabar and South Kanara. By SIVASWAMY K. G. and other Members of the Servants of India Society. Madras : Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, 1946. Pp. 75 + 84 + 65. Rs. 4-0-0.

Malabar, long known as 'the Land of Plenty' was on the verge of famine during 1943 and 1944 and even now cannot be said to be entirely out of the woods.

This booklet comprising of articles on the survey carried out by the Servants of India Society is very valuable as it gives

a true unofficial picture of the food position by persons of authority.

In 1943, Malabar faced a cholera epidemic. The causes for this, the belated Government help and the tragic end of 30,000 people are narrated in the first part.

By far the largest part of the booklet is on 'Food and Price Control in Malabar' contributed by K. G. Sivaswamy. Malabar is one of the most thickly populated areas and there was widespread disease due to want of food-stuffs, cloth and facilities for medical relief.

Mr. Swamy traces how the food shortage occurred by the loss of Burma and Siam rice; how the control came late and how hesitantly the Government introduced rationing in rural areas. He points out the defects in Government procurement, how hoarding and black-marketing thrived and expands on the possibilities of procurement and distribution of other food-stuffs as fish, cocoanut, etc.

The articles are all reinforced by facts and figures. Quotations from the papers as also statements from men of authority are freely drawn in support of the statements. It is no deprecation of Government's policy. It points out the defects in that and suggests ways and means to rectify them.

Written in simple style by persons who did yeomen service in carrying out investigations and organizing relief, this would certainly be a good handbook of information, picturing the terrible conditions that prevailed in Malabar during 1943 and 1944.

P. K. N.

Agrarian Reforms in Western Countries. The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. Bombay: Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 1946. Pp. 122. Rs. 3-0-0.

Land Tenures in India. The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. Bombay: Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 1946. Pp. 90. Rs. 2-0-0.

These two brochures of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics are published with a view to help in the reorganization of Indian agriculture. The former study refers to the pre-war conditions in Europe. It throws much light on what several countries have done to improve not only the yield but also the organization of agriculture. Agrarian reforms vary from country to country and run the entire gamut from "moderate methods to build up a contented peasantry" to the revolutionary "collectivisation of farms" as in Soviet Russia. These agrarian policies are studied with reference to the functions they perform. They divide Europe into three distinct Zones. The Land Settlement Zone roughly covers an arc formed by the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy. The aim

is "to create conditions most conducive to the success of the tenant's enterprise." The Agrarian Reform Zone comprising of the Baltic States and the Balkan countries separates Western Europe from Eastern. Here the main purpose was to replace peasant proprietorship as against large estates. Soviet Russia has gone forward with collectivisation of farms reaping rich harvests. The contention is that "peasant proprietorships suitably reorganized and assisted by the State.....seems to offer the best immediate solution."

The second booklet is a reproduction, in order to reach a larger public, of sections of the Report of the Bengal Famine Inquiry Commission in as much as they deal with the complicated problem of land tenures, which cry aloud for reorganization and resettlement. It has two useful appendices.

Both the publications ought to be read carefully by those interested in our agricultural problems and especially by students of economics. A. D.

Criminal Justice and Social Reconstruction. HERMANN MANNHEIM. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1946. Pp. 290. 15s.

Dr. Mannheim's view is, in brief, that we are facing a crisis in fundamental values hardly paralleled in history. He urges that the conception of crime should be reconsidered in the light of the present crisis in social, economic and moral values, on the one hand, and of the simultaneous changes in methods of government and administration on the other. The scope of such changes should first be decided and this must be followed by an adjustment of the legal machinery to secure adequate protection for the emergent values. This process, he holds, has not been carried out with any thoroughness save in Soviet Russia and he has been largely influenced by her example in the task he has set himself here. The modern trend indicates "a wholesale shifting of emphasis" from the rights of the individual to those of the community. Dr. Mannheim examines, on the basis of the existing historical and comparative material, how far the traditional safeguards of the individual in a liberal era are living forces worth preserving and how in a well-planned society, a reconciliation may be brought

about between individualistic and collectivistic tendencies, between truly scientific methods of treating the law-breaker and the old established procedures of democracy. Much of the emphasis now vested in courts of law ought, in our author's opinion, to be transferred to industrial and administrative bodies, whose aim would be preventive rather than punitive.

To discuss in any detail so revolutionary and complex a re-adjustment of law and practice as is propounded in *Criminal Justice* would require a long treatise. A solid volume in itself and strengthened by many hundred references to other works, both legal and economic, the book is designed primarily for social specialists and students. The author must be accredited with much legal knowledge, vast powers of research and collation and the courage born of conviction for making this grave attempt to anticipate and to guide the re-moulding of the criminal law in accordance with the needs of the post-war era.

J. J. P.

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